Greece EH1

● 241

/For information on Agricultural Cooperatives see category 474./

823 361 Despite many difficulties, the rural Greeks continue to like the summits about them, and they settle down in bleak and stony areas with a contentment hard for the outsider to understand. At a point between Lamia and Karpenesi near Tymphrestos Mountain, we passed a peasant woman who was driving a donkey loaded with alfalfa to her village.

"This is a nice place here, isn't it?" we said, to get a conversation started.

"Yes, it's nicely situated."

"Have you got water?"

[312] "Yes, we brought it from afar [made an installation] and now we are all right. The winter is hard but we are prepared to face it. We gather our wood in advance and we sit around our fireplaces, spin, weave, eat chestnuts, while our animals are down below eating their fodder."

A few miles farther on we talked to another woman walking along the road. She remarked in the course of the conversation: "My son wanted to go to America. He went. Now, he's longing for his mountains."

To understand Greece, therefore, one must know not only the geography of her mountains, but the meaning of these mountains to the people who make them their home. The economic struggle in these highland villages ● 241 433 is told by Papaspyropoulos in his account of Kleitoria, in the Peloponnesos. Notice his comparison with the lowland villages.

> The villagers of my village, like all the others of that area, are farmers. Even the priest is an agriculturist, as well as the teacher, the doctor, and those who own the shops. [233] The shepherds also are farmers; one day they go with their sheep, and the next day they go to their fields. Farming is the basis; livestock and other occupations are secondary. Systematic livestock production is only done by the shepherds of Mount Chelmos. [312] [423] The agricultural life in our village is very hard because the fields are few and divided into strips and the water is scarce. Each owner does not have his fields in one spot; he has one stremma [one-fourth acre] here and another further down; the one on the heights and the other in the plains, the one to the right, the other to the left. Thus in walking "they melt [wear out] their shoes." The same and even worse takes place when it is time for watering. No roads! They walk on stones here and there in the ravines, and to go back to their village after their work, tired [487] as they are, they have to walk for an hour or more. And what sort of road! Abrupt paths and steep climbs. Neither shoes nor clothes can remain undamaged. They roam around in rags. Only on Sundays and on larger holidays can one see them in some way neatly dressed. A hard life without improvement, for the fields are few and not productive. [312] A soft and restful life is led by the lowlanders. They have a good plain, straight road and lots of water, which is supplied by the river there. For this reason they have all kinds of fruit orchards, vegetable gardens, and other kinds of trees.

THE PLAINS

Peasants nowadays live in the plains more willingly than they do in the 162
mountains. Good level land has a scarcity value. The most thorough study 361
of this has been made by A. G. Ogilvie, who prepared a map of population density in Greece for the *Geographical Journal* of May–June 1945. He has identified fifty-nine districts which he regards as plains. These usually contain the regional and local capitals and are widely scattered among and around mountains, including in most cases the slopes facing them. They take up about 30 percent of the mainland, but contain about 52 percent of the nonurban population. Thus, one half of the rural population lives upon plains comprising less than one third of the mainland; but this also means that the remaining one half of the rural population lives in a completely mountainous environment.

In Greece the largest plain — that of Trikkala-Karditsa in Thessaly — 133
is less than five hundred square miles in size, not much larger than many 361
American counties. The roll call of the plains, which are alluvial, would list the major provincial towns, whose location is in part an answer to the need for marketing and transportation services of the villagers located in the surrounding fertile agricultural areas. Whether I was traveling in the Peloponnesos, in Epirus, or elsewhere, it was always a stirring sight to climb some range and find spread out on the other side a fruitful valley, along a river or in some old lake basin whose water drained off long ago.

When Greeks think of the plains, however, they think of the kind around 241 ●
Larissa, the chief city of Thessaly, which has rapidly become the center [361]
of mechanized agriculture, or they think of the plain of Thessalonike in
Macedonia. These are the most important breadbaskets of Greece. Famili- [133]
arity with these plains means also familiarity with the sun of Greece, which [433]
beats down mercilessly in the summertime. Here, a clump of trees or even [132]
a single tree is an oasis of shade for a rest after hours of working the sun-
baked fields. Where there is not even one tree, the peasants rig up tentlike [349]
shelters for use at noonday or take refuge beneath a battered umbrella.
During the agricultural season the plains literally teem with people — seldom are they ever out of sight or sound; but they do become more tired and listless as the day wears on. The peasant men in straw hats become [291]
tanned to the color of dark leather, as do many of the women in spite of
their free-flowing headkerchiefs. The sun, nevertheless, works wonders with the crops, ripening the grain and bringing sweetness to the magnificent fruits of Greece.

If the plains make one conscious of the sun, they make one even more 312
conscious of water — so much so that a tepid drink from a donkey-borne cask has a refreshing tang to it. On the plains there is usually too much

Agricultural

experts are rightly questioning some of the obvious economic difficulties of 241
trying to farm several scattered strips from a village home base, but they 621
sometimes forget the social efficiencies found in a village in contrast to the isolated farmstead. Some of this social efficiency becomes apparent as soon as one arrives in the *plateia*, the village square.

THE PLATEIA

Any visitor from outside is expected by the villagers to make his identity 621
and business known as soon as possible, not to conform to any legal or 609
police requirements but to satisfy the lively, usually friendly village curiosity.
The plateia is the stage for this performance. Upon entering the village, one 574
heads toward the most imposing coffeehouse in the plateia. A reception 275
committee springs apparently from nowhere in the person of the local village president or some other dignitary. By the time the coffeehouse is reached, the visitor becomes the honored guest and is asked what refreshment he prefers — coffee or something stronger. Meanwhile, four or five other men, who consider themselves important enough locally to display such forwardness, join the reception committee at the table. Others stand around to watch what the strangers do and to listen to the conversation. Such situations call to mind the observation of a traveler through the Balkans and Eastern Europe half a century ago, who pointed out that when the Russian or the Turk had no business to occupy him, he went home; but when the Greek or the Jew had nothing to do, he stood on the corner of the square hoping something would turn up.[1] After the newcomers
have observed the formalities and explained the purpose of the visit, every- [272]
one can then sit back and relax to drink the sirupy coffee or to give one's
throat a chance to cool after each swallow of the fiery *ouzo*. Only then can [273]
the visitor really devote his attention to what the people who pass through the square are doing or wearing.

First there are the children, some of them startled as they suddenly 621
see their reflection in the shiny chromium automobile bumper; other
youngsters settle down to some simple game after the visitor becomes 609
monopolized by the older people. Next comes a man carrying pottery jars 574
to the fountain at the edge of the square, getting water for his coffeeshop [312]
around the corner. Peasants on their way from the fields ride their carts through the square, with a spare horse used for plowing led along behind. The animals as well as the very small children shy away from the automobile. Women look from the windows of the nearby houses at the group [275]
at the tables under the trees in front of the coffeehouse, but only very few
ever venture close enough to hear what the men are talking about. A bus [494]
from the city pulls in with a roar and a clatter and quickly becomes the center of attention.

As the sights and sounds of the people and the animals become familiar, 361

[P. 59]
[P. 58 is blank]

IV

Land as a Birthright

> Grandfather slipped his hand underneath and drew out a little bundle which had lain over his heart. 423
>
> "It is nothing. . . . A handful of earth. . . ."
>
> "A handful of earth! . . ."
>
> "Yes, a handful of earth from our fields so we can plant a root of basil in our land of exile, to remind us. . . ."
>
> Elias Venezis, *Aeolia*, p. 259

A HANDFUL OF EARTH

To some readers, this passage will reveal a poetic insight into the mystic attachment which not only the refugees portrayed but people in many parts of the world have for the land which is theirs, which they revere, and for which they will endure bloody encounters. To other readers, this will seem an overromanticized stereotyping of the peasant. Which reaction is more justifiable in considering the Greek villages today?

Seeking an answer to this question brought me face to face with the 423
dramatic social changes which have been occurring in Greece, with all their 178
marked regional differences. Facts and figures are a good starting point for 241
trying to resolve a debated question. Certainly, in Greece today, with the population increase, good land is at a very high premium. The "handful of

423 earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less
178 than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people
[241] who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the
farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from
2.5 to 12.5 acres.[1]

[369] As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they sub-
181 stitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond
with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a
432] change.[2] Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on
intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes noted in Greece.

121 There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among
178 the villagers in the various regions of Greece except to talk with them and
with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in
423 Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes
432 shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was occurring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas, more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant mold of Hesiod's day.[3]

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agriculture said:

> 178 The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary,
> because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their
> 423 holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism.
> 432 They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with
> some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave.
> [186] He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves
> rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.
>
> [166] One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that
> [511] families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are
> three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months.
> [578] Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative
> had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the
> land really belonged.
>
> [369] It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even
> settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields
> that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession
> of land.

Moving eastward across Northern Greece, I learned from the agricul- 178
tural officials of Serrai (in Macedonia) that more and more unwilling peo-
ple there were being forced to get rid of their farms and go down to the 423
cities. This is not because of any lack of love for the soil but because the 432
yields in the mountainous areas make it impossible to earn a living. Eco-
nomic necessity has forced a change of location, but not yet a change in [166]
attitude. One official compared Macedonia and Thessaly, with respect to
attachment for the land: "I would say that there has been much greater [511].
security through the years in Thessaly, which has led to more fondness for
their fields; here in Northern Greece the constant uprooting of families has
created an uneasiness and therefore a tendency for people to part with
their land."

In Thrace, farther eastward, the peasant is still attached to the soil but
"he is not stuck to it absolutely body and soul," as one peasant expressed
it. These areas of Macedonia and parts of Thrace depend largely on grow- [249]
ing Oriental tobacco, a commodity sometimes moving slowly on world
markets, with agricultural depression a serious consequence. Here the man- [439]
land bond is loosening. [458]

The peasants living at the head of the Chalkidike peninsula (central
Macedonia) around Polygyros, the capital of the prefecture, enjoy relative [511]
prosperity and are not willing to leave their land. Nor is there any desire to
emigrate, although five or six families have sent sons to Italy to study agri- [167]
culture and veterinary science in the expectation that they would return
better prepared to improve agriculture and kindred pursuits.

In the rich plains of Thessaly, south from Macedonia, the mechaniza-
tion of agriculture is apparent everywhere. When harvests are good, people [241] ●
are optimistic about the future, secure about their food supply. Peasants
there have invested heavily in tractors, which have had an interesting effect
on attitudes toward the land. In this area of good soil, where scientific
farming is increasingly practiced, the basis of the attachment is changing [242]
from the traditional idea of land ownership as a sacred trust closely bound
in with the fortune of one's immediate family to a view of land as a source
of financial gain. Here in Thessaly the rural man is changing from peasant
to farmer, in contrast to the hard-pressed people in the northern moun- [166]
tains who are forced to move to cities for bread and, far away from their
land, still cling to peasant values.

When a peasant in Central Greece was asked what a family from his
village would do if it received $500 from America, he said: "A man [454]
would be more apt to buy fields rather than improve his home; of course,
if his house leaks and he has enough land, he would start with the house
but, generally speaking, a peasant from my village thinks it more important
to own more land than to build a big house. Of course, we do have another

religious and philanthropic foundations, reinforcing the system of large 175 rural estates in private hands. The convents of Pentele and Petraki in Attica became very rich as the result of gifts and bequests from Christians 423 who did not want their land to pass into the hands of the Turks.

These four forms of land ownership began to change in the nineteenth 175 century with the coming of Greek independence and the Treaty of Constantinople in 1832, setting the boundaries between Greece and Turkey. 423 While the communal land and the peasant holdings of the kephalochoria 427 remained much as before, as did the monastery properties, the great estates of the beys changed hands, going to Greeks with the departure of their Turkish owners from Greece. They remained intact, worked by tenants under Greek landlords for another century — the peasants were legally landless. The land reform legislation of 1917 changed the last two forms by expropriating large estates and turning back the land once again to private cultivators. The cycle of land ownership in Attica was complete. As P. J. Iliopoulos has put it in his excellent study of Attica:

> This audacious agrarian policy of expropriation, which allowed in general each proprietor to keep only 30 hectares of cultivable land, has permitted landless inhabitants of Attica to become owners. This right was acquired on condition of complete payment of the value of the plots acquired and with the obligation of cultivation under penalty of forfeiture. The total amount of land alienated amounted to about 17,000 hectares.[11]

When one realizes that the total cropland of Attica was 33,000 hectares, [311] this 17,000 hectares becomes a very significant figure. By 1948 the croplands of Attica totaled 63,640 hectares, with 36,249 hectares in cereals and the rest in other crops.

The fact that the peasant in Attica now owns his land has much to do 178 with the increased interest which he takes in its improvement. As one would expect, working the land around Athens, though still performed in 241 ● part according to ancient methods, is moving more and more into the commercialized sphere. There are now, for instance, modern poultry [235] houses with large flocks which are the pride of the men, who formerly would not do the "woman's work" with chickens; truck farming is in- [462] creasing, greatly dependent upon water now available for irrigation. There is a definite shift from olives to vineyards, since a vine matures in three to five years, whereas an olive tree will not bear for twelve years and does not reach full maturity until twenty years.

On the farm, which is now his own, the peasant is also adding to his plantation of fruit trees and vines, for the strong insolation and clear sky of Attica make them produce well. His venturing into dairying, dependent upon forage crops and vegetables, will be limited to the irrigation he can manage. The chances are, however, that cereals will continue to be the

178 main crop because the peasant can harvest them before the great heat of
241 summer descends and the countryside lies parched and torpid under the
blazing sun.

LAND REFORM (THESSALY)

423 Attica was selected as the best illustration of land ownership in Greece,
but Thessaly, with the richest land in Greece, almost selects itself to illus-
trate modern Greek land reform.[12] The size of the farm holding in Thes-
[241] saly averages just over eleven acres, which is the highest of any province:
the figure is less than ten acres in Macedonia, Thrace, and Central Greece;
just over five acres in Epirus and the Peloponnesos; and less than five
acres on the islands. No wonder that now and then I encountered what
can best be termed "land-hungry peasants," particularly where they thought
that the government, through its program of land redistribution, was in a
position to turn over to them at a reasonable figure the fields of some
estate not yet fully reduced to the proper size set by the land-reform law.

This was the case in 1953 in Thomai, a village not far from Larissa, the
capital city of Thessaly. I was driving the director of agriculture in Larissa
out on his inspection trip through the neighboring area where a severe
rainstorm had damaged the nearly ripe wheat. The road, stretching for
[177] miles between grain fields, was headed in the direction of Trikkala and
passed the Larissa Forest Nursery, whose sign linked it with the Marshall
[243] Plan. Farther on, in recently harvested grain fields, a few gleaners were
bending over the golden stubble in the hot sun, gathering their winter's
bread supply like Ruth who gleaned in the fields of Boaz. In rich Thessaly,
[735] there are few gleaners now, but the unwritten law permitting gleaning still
exists for those poor villagers who need it.

[671] During the drive the discussion centered about the problem of land re-
form. The director was reluctant to visit Thomai because he had not yet
received any final instructions from Athens to help him answer the ques-
tions he knew the villagers would ask about some promised increase in
their land. The Land Reform Law of 1917 had boldly attacked the prob-
423 lem of the big estates, and its gradual application had eliminated tenancy
427 throughout most of Greece by 1930. Around 1922 the influx of refugees,
[671] with their desperate need for land, speeded up the redistribution. This law
still permitted certain classes of landlords to hold up to 500 acres although
requiring them to dispose of acreages above that amount. As the result of
[792] further government action in 1952, the archbishop of the national church
had agreed to the sale of the monastery estates, which accounted for a little
more than one fourth of the 1.5 million acres to be turned over to private
proprietors in this new redistribution program. Another type of landlord
living in Larissa had formerly owned about half of the rich Thessaly plain;
he had given up most of the land, keeping the 500-acre maximum holding.

423 past and discontent with the present was a compensation for their feeling of
178 inferiority to the other villagers about them. Their slowness to adopt anything new showed up in small ways. Noting that the flies were bad at the café, I asked them what they thought of DDT. "Oh, that's wonderful,"
[177] they said. "The English brought in DDT just at the end of the war and for two years we weren't bothered with flies at all. But now the flies are
[825] back and I guess we'll have to put up with them." Flies, of course, were only a minor irritation. They complained of many greater difficulties.

"We are becoming overpopulated. We are increasing. A person with
423 seven children can't feed them properly on fifteen acres. If we tried to stop children from coming someone would say that we were being antireligious."

And then another added, "If we only get our pasture land, we will be content."

"Are you sure of that?" someone asked. "If you had one hundred fifty acres instead of fifteen, wouldn't you still think that too little? Isn't that human nature?"

The director, perhaps to even up the score of what was a trying experience for him, sent a parting shot which made the men grin sheepishly: "Really, now, this talk of your getting the pasture land is a little beside the
[685] point. Actually, you are already profiting from this land, since — contrary to the law — you are now letting your animals pasture there during the night in the belief that nobody knows what you are doing. But let us hope that soon the land will be yours and you won't have to try to be so clever."
[521] The frank, rather acrid discussion ended, as most Greek café arguments do, with at least the appearance of good humor.

Thomai in Thessaly pointed up one aspect of land re-
423 distribution. However, no matter how disturbed the Thomai peasant be-
● 241 came about it, the crucial aspect of land reform in Greece today is not redistribution. The government has scraped bottom in its search for more land for the peasants. What is more desperately needed, from the standpoint of efficient farm management, is the concentration of an owner's scattered strips into one compact holding which can be worked as a unit.[14] One traditional way of decreasing the disadvantages of the divided holdings is the *domka* system of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace under which the
[311] entire area of the community is divided into three sections.[15] In any given year all of the land owned by the various families of the community in one section is planted with the predominant crop, a second section lies fallow for a year, and the third section is kept fallow for a longer period and is used for pasture. Obviously the abandonment of the fallow part of the rotation cycle and the increasing use of cover crops or fertilized commercial crops makes the domka system outmoded.

Thessaly

Another village in Thessaly tackled this crucial problem of strip holdings 423
in its own way. This village, Nees Karyes, south of Larissa on the main 474
road to Lamia, was another place the director of agriculture wished to 241
visit. On our way there we picked up the agriculturist who, like a county agent, had been the chief adviser to the peasants while they were planning their successful scheme. He recounted the development of the program as
we drove to the village. The people of Nees Karyes, like those of Thomai,
were also refugees, but they had come to Greece much earlier, in 1907, [167]
from Eastern Roumelia, now a part of Bulgaria. Otherwise, they were ordinary villagers, some with more land, some with less. It was the peasants with less who devised a plan.

After World War II, they realized that they could no longer make ends meet with what they had. In May 1952 twenty-three of the men with the smallest holdings in the village came together to talk about what would happen if they pooled their farms and other resources. The land of these 23 families totaled about 575 acres, showing an average per family below that for the other 200 families in the village, but well above the figure for Thessaly. They talked and talked, swapped ideas and contacted the agricultural-extension agent in Larissa. In October 1952 they held their first
assembly. They decided to buy a tractor and to follow the advice of the [242]
agricultural specialist as to improved methods, type of seed, kind of equipment needed. [407]
They decided to combine the 575 acres for production purposes into one farm. The various types of soil are now used to best advantage. Fortunately, the first year had been a good crop year and successes far outstripped expectations. The cooperative into which they or-
ganized themselves bought a combine for 60,000 drachmas ($4,000 at the [435]
rate of exchange in 1952). But since they would have had to pay out five
sixths of that to others as charges for harvesting their grain, they are in [407]
reality only 10,000 drachmas ($667) in debt, and sure of the future.

Since this idea of pooling land sounded so much like a collective farm
on the Communist model, the government carefully investigated to be sure [652]
no subversive influences were at work before it granted any loans. The planners proved to be far from subversive, merely independent peasants with a common-sense approach to an old, old problem.

Our first stop in the village was at a big brick-walled granary almost [343]
completed by the cooperative. There we talked with the villager who was
the cooperative's secretary. He paid great tribute to the part the govern-
ment agricultural worker had played in the success of their undertaking. [242]
While we fingered the heaped golden grain on the cement floor of the impressive building, I asked, "What made you begin this cooperative in the first place?" The answer was a single eloquent word: "Necessity."

The founders of this cooperative, the twenty-three village families with

423 the smallest holdings, must have found sweet consolation in knowing that
now many of their more advantaged village neighbors wish to join the
474 cooperative pool. But this poses a problem. "How," the secretary asked
● 241 anxiously, "can we calculate what arrangement to make with these people?
How can we know what to charge them for the risk we took, the major
expenses we bore? Certainly, now that we have succeeded, it would not
be fair for them to come in and benefit free of cost from the pioneering
work that we have done."

As these cooperative members talked of their plans, their eyes glowed with happiness and enthusiasm. The men had concrete proposals to solve other problems. They expect to shift from sole concentration upon grain production to more diversified farming, including livestock and poultry production, the raising of dry legumes and other crops that tend to give employment to the able-bodied members of the cooperating families.

International recognition as well as scientific farming is coming to Nees Karyes. Today there are people from Yugoslavia and Israel, as well as touring Americans, who have seen the way some of the peasant families in this village of Thessaly set about solving their problem of too little land in too many strips cultivated in unscientific ways. The secret of this undertaking, in great part at least, lies in the feeling of responsibility on the part of those who participate, since they originated and now conduct and plan for the cooperative which they jointly own.

PRESSURE ON THE LAND

161 Most rural Greeks, however, struggle along with insufficient resources
and with no cooperative venture such as Nees Karyes to give them hope.
241 A village cobbler from Karpenesi in Central Greece explained the matter
511 in this way: "There has been such an increase in population that the fields
are no longer sufficient. The village child today lives more poorly than did
his father as a child, because there are more mouths to feed and no added
resources."

A well-informed Greek official put the problem in excellent perspective:
"Today there is less income per family, less food, and the land values go
[565] up. Those that have more land become better off, leading to totally new
economic and social distinctions in the villages. Many of our farmers are
trying to make a living on such small farms that all they produce is hate.
The main problem of the Greek farm family is the population problem.
There are too many people. The villager with nothing to do has no place
to go in search of work. That is why you see here in Athens many strong,
healthy men selling matches. They have no work to do either in their villages or here in the city."

What the Greek villagers are up against in one part of the Peloponnesos is revealed in *Greece, Ripe for Improvement:*

> Like many of the older agricultural areas of the world, this area is densely popu- 161
> lated and now has far more people than its depleted resources can adequately 241
> support. . . . At the present time, nearly 10,000 people are attempting to sup-
> port themselves on 25,000 hectares (62,500 acres) of land, some of it water- 511
> logged, most of it eroded, and all of it reduced in productivity.[16]

Yet this population pressure is of relatively recent occurrence. One writer in 1842 described the large amount of land then available in the Greece which at that time consisted of the Peloponnesos and Central Greece: [131]

> The industry of the 100,000 persons engaged in agriculture is almost completely lost to view in the extensive wilds of Greece; and the universal remark of tourists is, "What a pity that the cultivation of the soil is so neglected! what a rich and fertile country! what myriads of colonists might prosper here!" [17]

What happened between 1842 and 1952 to change the population picture so drastically? The population of Greece grew not only by natural increase but by the acquisition of new territory. The story can be told most simply by figures contained in the United Nations' *Demographic Yearbook* for 1952; in 1861 there were 60 people per square mile in what was then Greece; in 1951 there were 149 people per square mile in what is Greece today. [131]

Students of population remind us quite properly that mere density per square mile is not a safe guide to the actual or the potential standard of living. The highly industrialized areas of Western Europe support several times the density of Greece and their people have many more modern conveniences. In a rural country, the density in terms of arable land is a more revealing indication of living conditions.

In the United States there are 17 acres of arable land for each farm person, but in both Greece and India there are only 1.3 acres. Our major farm problems come from surpluses; Greece, too, has her surpluses, although, like most countries moving away from a peasant economy, she is deficient in certain food supplies. One ray of hope for the less-privileged countries is the possibility that they may increase production per acre from 13 to 14 bushels (the present grain yields in Greece) closer to 30 bushels, a figure surpassed by the United Kingdom, Denmark, and the Netherlands, where scientific agriculture is practiced. But even here basic soil types set certain limits.

The present situation seems likely to become even more acute. In Greece between 1951 and 1961 there was a population increase of 9 percent, a figure which may grow larger if death rates are lowered faster than birth rates. Without a rapidly expanding economy to absorb these added people into productive jobs, the Greeks will feel their economic limitations even

161

241 more acutely and will find it harder to raise the level of living in many of
511 the depressed areas of the country.

LAND USE IN GREECE

311 What each peasant does with his own birthright of land adds up to the use Greece as a whole makes of her soil resources.[18] We may not be able to spot the patterns of ownership from observing the countryside, but we can see what is being grown and can check casual impressions against the official figures. Of 100 acres, 25 are used for agriculture, 15 are in forest, and the remaining 60 are in scrub, settlements, poor natural pasture, or [491] just plain rock, gravel, or swamp. Roads, however, tend to take the observer through the areas where the land is cultivated and where many [241] fields lie close together. In such areas, if we look only at the agricultural land, out of every 100 acres we would see 46 acres in grain, 5 in other food crops, 4 in industrial crops (cotton, tobacco, and so on), 25 in orchards and gardens, and 20 acres lying fallow. In the farm areas of the United States we would not find so high a proportion of fallow land, nor so much in orchards and gardens; instead, there would be more land in temporary meadows and in forage crops, because of our greater emphasis on livestock even though we have only about 27 acres out of each 100 in agricultural land, close to the Greek figure of 25. Our forest area takes up 32 acres (double that of Greece) and all other uses, 41 acres.

When we think of the land hunger of many Greeks, and the insufficient diet they get from their harvests, we wonder if there is any way to change these statistics. Is there more arable land available than 25 out of each 100 acres? Is there possibility of better use? Two studies, one Greek and one American, supply partial answers for those concerned about the peasant and his handful of earth.

311 *Greece Today*, a publication of the National Bank of Greece and Athens, in a 1954 article on Greek agriculture, points out that the available land is 241 inadequately exploited owing to lack of funds. Only 7.8 percent of the agricultural land is irrigated; 11.5 percent is under mechanized cultivation; and chemical fertilizers, although used in twice the quantity of a few years ago, still cover not more than 25 percent of the cultivated land. Further[433]more, when Greece is compared with 14 other European countries, the yield of Greek agriculture, expressed in gross income per unit of area, is 63 percent below, livestock production is 44 percent below, and the productivity of the labor of the Greek farmer is 48 percent below the respective average for these countries.

A study made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece indicates that [423] much more efficient use could be made of the so-called idle lands, most of which are owned or administered by the state.[19] They were obtained in the population exchange of 1922–24, and from the Chams (*Tsamides* is

the Greek for this Albanian Moslem minority) and Communists when they 311
fled Greece, from Italian reparations and the relinquishment of some lands 241
by the royal family. These government-controlled lands total from one
fourth to one third of all of the agricultural land in the country, and many [423]
of them are so inefficiently administered that they are not producing at
anywhere near their full capacity. Some of the abuses often cited are:

> Tenants have not been able to get title to land they have been working for
> thirty years. [427]
>
> Land and orchards have been auctioned for a one-year period to nonoperating individuals who sublet to peasants on crop-sharing basis, with both parties having little interest in maintaining soil fertility.
>
> Large tracts of fertile farmland have been leased year after year for grazing [664
> purposes, either because of political pressure by stock owners or simply because 427]
> of inefficient and shortsighted administration.
>
> Other lands, idle for years, have suffered devasting damage from flood, for [312]
> dikes and drainage ditches have not been maintained.
>
> Orchards containing hundreds of thousands of olive and fruit trees have gone untended and unpruned for years.

Whether the problem lies in the lack of funds, as the National Bank claims, or in poor administrative practices, as the American Mission claims, or in both, it is obvious that there is much work ahead for those planning the more complete use of the Greek birthright in land and wanting to satisfy the peasant's desperate need for life-sustaining work.

The significance of land is shown in the importance of agricultural prod-
ucts in the total economy of the country. Let us look at the export figures 433
for 1956–57. Out of the $213 million of exports, about $187.5 million, or 439
88 percent, was in agricultural products (cotton, tobacco, grapes, raisins, 241
apples, and so on). The balance of $25.5 million represented mainly exports of chemicals, textiles, ores, and industrial raw materials.[20] These figures show that land is important not merely to the peasant but to all Greece as she today seeks to find markets abroad in order to get foreign exchange to import raw materials and finished products not available within her borders.

The rural Greeks, quite unconsciously on their part, remind us that one
of life's basic relationships is that of man to the land.[21] In many studies I 423
have made of rural people, I have found that this is a crucial focus, which 241
many specialists from industrialized societies are apt to minimize or over- 178
look, much to their disadvantage. To some peasants, still steeped in tradition, the earth is holy and is not treated in the light of modern knowledge to make it more productive; other peasants are taking up scientific agriculture and in doing so tend to think of the soil as a commodity. If tradition holds too tightly, which it probably will not do among the energetic Greek

423 villagers, then conservatism and lack of progress will handicap the peasant;
if, on the other hand, the man-land bond becomes too abruptly broken, a
● 241 rural proletariat will come into existence and will make demands beyond
178 the capacity of the country to provide.

The golden mean would call for such a balancing of forces that Greek villagers, proud of their rural heritage but aware of steps necessary to improve their economic and educational position, would grow stronger with the passing of time. For some the answer to greater economic stability would lie in higher yields per acre through fertilization and better farming practices; in other cases mechanization may prove an aid, as would more efficient irrigation or marketing facilities and lower interest rates. Along with the economic remedies, whatever they prove to be, a sense of psychological security will develop in the peasant if he thinks of himself as a landowner and gets prestige and satisfaction from the intelligent way he treats his land. Linked to this, however, must be the feeling that he — the villager — is not Greece's forgotten or neglected man, but that those engaged in agriculture are viewed by policy makers as an important segment of national life. Individually and collectively, no people can afford the costly luxury of taking lightly their birthright of land.

[P.75]

V

The Peasant at Work

A description of how the land is owned and what it grows gives only one side of the agricultural picture. To round out the chapter just concluded, one needs to see the peasants at work, to follow them from tobacco field to olive orchard, to see how they plow and harvest, and what they do to the part of the earth they own. As they live and work in their small fields, the peasants develop their own way of looking at man and the world. This sets them off from the city dweller or the seafarer, for certain basic rural attitudes prevail all over Greece whether the farmer's energy goes into producing citrus fruits and olives in the south or tobacco and hardy grains in the north. Closeness to the land in the physical and often in the spiritual sense is one such attitude already described. Matching this is the villager's closeness to the changing seasons and weather and his dependence on them. For a truly genuine account we rely again upon T. K. Papaspyropoulos, who has vividly described contemporary life in Kleitoria. The entire following section on the seasons is a translation of his words. 241 184 127

THE CYCLE OF THE SEASONS IN THE PELOPONNESOS

Winter. During winter we have finished all our tasks and we gather in our homes. We have sown, we have gathered our maize, beans, and what other goods God has given us — onions, garlic, potatoes, quince, pomegranates, and so on. We have put our cheese to age; we have rendered our 221 [241] [252]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Pelopannesos

[Winter]

children stop going to school and they get together to prepare for their 221
caroling. When they have sung, then they divide what they have gathered [796]
as gifts. If it's a nice day, they play outside and go also to the flocks. The
man follows his regular schedule from home to the coffeehouse. They also [275]
go to church. When the weather becomes clear, even if it's February, slowly [241]
the tasks start. One goes plowing, the other prunes, another carries fodder ●
or wood; others plant trees. Those who need to plant vineyards start preparing
the branches. The women continue weaving and darning; they still do [462]
not undertake outside jobs. They start these when the men need hands. To
the shops the man will go only in the evening. There the teacher comes; [275]
they all sit together, while he reads the paper. Everybody listens but few
understand. The teacher finishes with the paper, then the shopowner, not
wishing to waste kerosene on a group ordering no drinks, bangs a piece of
wood on a bench and turns down the light. If we haven't gone he puts it
out completely. As we go out it's pitch dark. Some fall in the mud; others
curse, and some go here and there. As winter comes to an end we have [796]
Carnival. Then we kill the pig, then we have our dances near the church,
then we enjoy ourselves in the houses. [535]

Spring. When spring comes other tasks start. Then women start to help [462]
outside too. They go to the gardens and plant potatoes, spring onions,
beans, tomatoes and vegetable marrows, cucumbers, and so on. When [241]
some damage has been done during the winter to our hedges or homes
then is the time for repairs. And when we want to build then is the time [342]
because the weather improves. The children go to school and can play their [354]
games; in spring the fireplace does not burn during daytime. We light a
fire in the evening when we come back from our work and we can rest and
get warmed up. The fireplace burns in the evenings up to Easter. From then 221
onwards, summer starts. Up to Holy Tuesday we must have finished our
work; on Holy Wednesday we do not work; on Holy Thursday we may do 796
something; after that we prepare ourselves for Easter.

Then we slaughter our lambs, we hold the big dance near the church;
then the girls show their beauty and their charms, and the men their manliness.
During those days we also visit the chapels and, after the local mass,
we start dancing. We dance and we are merry. After Easter we start our 221
tasks in the fields and in vineyards, as we have mentioned previously. Then
the women help too. And they do the same type of work as the men. If we 512
have to leave somebody in the house it's all right. Otherwise, if the children [462]
return from school they get hold of a piece of bread and sit to eat it by
themselves. You can imagine what happens. When the children are many,
it's topsy-turvy; when the mother comes back in the evening she pulls her
hair; she doesn't know where to start. She starts beating them and murmurs
to herself. The men who like the coffeehouse go there as soon as they re- [275]

221

512 turn; some to hear some news, others to buy a cigarette. Many have their
[275] evening meals before and go afterwards.

Summer. As soon as *Theristes* [June: the Harvester] begins we start
●[241] preparing ourselves for harvesting. One looks for an extra workman, others
prepare their sickles, we all mix ourselves into the harvest tasks. Nobody
remains at home. The children come and help too in the carrying. During
summertime school is closed. They have their examinations in the presence
[876] of the entire village; they recite poems and give dramatic sketches. This is
done on a Sunday after church inside the school.

When we have good harvests we start threshing; then we winnow; then
[241] we sack the wheat and put it in our storerooms. The straw we carry into
our storage huts. After these jobs are finished we go to the mountains to
cut wood and we water the maize. During summer the big festival of St.
221 Elias takes place. All the village is in an upheaval. When we have returned
796 from the Church of St. Elias we all start dancing and are merry. Lots of
535 people come from other villages. The musicians play all day and night.
During the summer evenings under the moonlight the women gather with
the girls and the children on the threshing floors, in courtyards, and wherever
there is an opening. And they "nightspin." There they sing songs, tell
jokes, ask riddles, say tongue twisters. The small children and girls play all
kinds of games and end with dancing.

Fall. As fall starts, the big festival of Panagia, the 8th of *Trygetes* [September:
the Grape Gatherer] comes. The dance and merriment last until
dawn. Music does not stop for one minute. After our festival follows that
of Mazeika [a nearby town]. There we buy what we need: livestock, wool,
221 clothes, equipment for the house, agricultural implements, and whatever
241 else. But in order to buy we have to sell. For that reason we sell walnuts
[438] and wheat. What else can we sell? We haven't got anything. The walnuts
we gathered before the festival. When the festival has come to an end we
[432] start our work again. Then we gather our beans, we pick our grapes, we
press them, we put our wines to ferment, harvest our maize and husk it
[273] and place it in wooden cases, and we get ready to sow our wheat. We prepare
our agricultural equipment and our seed and we wait for rain. When
it has rained we start sowing up to Christmas. In fall also we open our wines
[273] and down there in our basement a great merriment goes on.

The life in our village is all work and a hard lot. If God wants us and
221 our animals to eat we do so; if it rains we will sow; if there is *Livas* [hot
82 south wind] our crops are scorched; if God throws sickness on our vineyards
we do not eat grapes; if the grasshopper comes we have a disaster;
if we have little water during the summer our maize doesn't grow. God is
regulating our lives, and if you dare to, don't believe in Him and don't

bow to Him. Our tasks are heavy ones and most of the time we live a 221 miserable life. What holds us in life is when we come back at night to our 82 homes and we find our children. What holds us are our festivals, our customs, our holidays, the joys of our children and the love we bear our animals, [186] our birthplace where we have also grown up. To drink water and to eat bread here is better than all the goods we find in the cities. Here we pass each season differently. It is different in winter, different in summer, and different in spring and fall.¹

YANNES NEEDS A HORSE; ALEKOS BUYS A TRACTOR

To work their land to get their bread, the peasants need tools and equipment, 241 draft power and seeds. I had not fully realized the severe limitations under which most Greek peasants tried to carry on in the early 1950s until I talked to Yannes in the shade of a tree just outside of Alistrate (in Macedonia). Yannes, aged twenty-nine years and dressed like most peasants [291] of that area in brown shapeless garments, quickly came over to start a conversation with us when he saw the car come to a stop. During the few preliminaries he played with his small mustache and finally asked:

> Did you see me standing over there? It's not because I don't want to work. My [492] animal is there in the team of the man plowing in that field below. He uses mine while he does his work and then I use his animal when I do my plowing. I have my own fields in 13 plots. This man using my horse works on shares; [427] the owner of the field in which he is plowing is a tobacco commission merchant who has altogether 25 acres of good land. The owner in 1950 got 125,000 [652] drachmas [$8,333] to build a poultry house from the government but we haven't seen a sign of a poultry house around here. Had that money been given to the people of Alistrate to get farm animals then we all would have been much better off. Five years ago 200 of us petitioned the Agricultural Bank for draft animals but only 6 people got any.

We did not challenge his poultry-house figure or try to dispel the deep gloom in which he was immersed. But we were willing to listen. He complained about the way American aid was being spent but, when pressed for details, said that this was his impression because "he couldn't see anything being done." Perhaps those who travel around, he pointed out, might see factories going up, dams being built, but he and his people did not believe it because they had nothing tangible, such as animals or equipment. Reflecting [369] the peasants' attitude toward urban life, he said, "Money is for the cities." During the long wait in the refreshing shade, Yannes talked about his family.

"I have eight members in my family. Now we have only yogurt thinned with water for these eight people to eat. For forty-three months I was a soldier and came home thinking things would be better, but the Bulgarians

241 before they left had cleaned us out and we had nothing with which to do our farming. I tried to get into a technical school, for there isn't enough work for me to do here; I also tried to get into a factory in Salonica but the same favoritism worked there."

He looked bitter and tired.

"Did you sell your tobacco for a good price?"

"Yes, I did get 7,000 drachmas for my tobacco but I was already 5,500
[426] drachmas in debt. And for the crop I am now putting in I'm already heavily
[435] in debt. What does the price of tobacco matter when sugar is going up from 16 to 20 drachmas an oka? Today there is not an oka of sugar in Ali-
[464] strate for use in case of sickness. There is unemployment, not enough fields; we can't rent any more land, for soil is too expensive. How can I live? If I could, I would emigrate anywhere. I don't care where. It would be a better life."

This young peasant's dark view of his world in 1953 was due to much more than the fact that he had only one horse and had to wait restlessly while a neighbor was using it in a team. He was representative of the young village people who are uprooted because of lack of economic opportunity at home or elsewhere and who become psychologically dispossessed. No matter how willing they are to work, or how hard they do work, they have neither enough bread nor enough security.

Not far down the road we stopped to talk to an elderly couple who, with
[249] one of their three unmarried daughters, were chopping out the weeds from
[273] around the anise plants (anise is used for flavoring ouzo, a popular and potent alcoholic drink in Greece). They were using short-handled hoes, a
[412] fact that led to a discussion of their farming methods which more nearly resembled those of their ancient forebears than those of the twentieth century. The description of a Greek village in an UNRRA publication just after World War II might well have been describing them, although the old couple got most of their income from tobacco rather than grain:

[407]
[412]
> Plows are the major implements used. Crops are cultivated by hand with hoes and harvested with the sickle or corn knife. Grain is threshed by driving livestock over it and the chaff is separated by tossing in the wind. The method of seeding is to plow the land, scatter the seed and plow again. Sometimes the seed is dropped in the furrow and covered by the succeeding furrow. The rate of seeding is very high and at least one-third more seed than necessary is sown. Primitive methods of cultivation result in many long days being spent in the
> [462] fields by the women and children — an average of 250 days per year. Often the women carry their babies and small children to the fields and watch over them while working.[2]

Although this old couple complained about not having enough food, showing us that they had only bread and water in their bag, nevertheless

they had a resilience that kept them going. When asked how their tobacco 241
crop was doing, they broke into broad smiles, and the man said:

"This year our tobacco is just like basil." (By this they meant that it was nice, thick, and round.)

The woman was quick to add, "ho Theos na dosi" (may God grant it).

In a book of interpretations there is a temptation to linger with a couple like this, to record in detail their simple ways which contrast so markedly with the complicated life in the West. The temptation is even stronger when one encounters throughout Greece peasants who are as far removed from mechanization as the Acropolis is removed from the Empire State Building. The late Robert P. T. Coffin, during a year in Greece, caught their spirit in "The Golden Age," which begins:

> High in the back mountains of old Greece
> I came upon incredible peace;
> A wife with a distaff twisting wool
> A boy who filled wool breeches full,
> Riding together on a burro
> Ahead of a bronze man running a furrow
> On a steep acre mostly rocks,
> Twenty red hens, and two bronze cocks.[8]

Yet there is a spirit of change stirring in Greece that cannot be ignored 178
no matter how strongly one may be drawn to the simplicity of the past. To 241
drive along the road just south of Corinth and to see a new bright orange
tractor plowing in the shadow of Akrokorinthos, with its lofty crown of 407
crenelated medieval ruins on the summit, is a startling sensation; or between Levadeia and Lamia in Central Greece, to come suddenly upon a combine efficiently working its way through a wheat field with Mount Parnassus, the home of the Muses, as a backdrop, is to be jolted momentarily by the incongruities of an invasion by the machines into an ancient world which for ages had moved in the pattern of man, land, and animals.

The swiftly changing techniques are illustrated vividly on almost any 243
day's tour through the countryside. At threshing time, for instance, I have 178
seen peasants threshing grain by putting it into a bag and pounding it with
sticks; not far away will be several threshing floors on the edge of the village
with many teams of horses tramping out the grain; elsewhere there will be [407]
the slow-moving oxen pulling a little platform with metal teeth fixed underneath to separate the grain from the stalk; and around the next bend may be a big cooperatively owned threshing machine operated by a long belt turned by a tractor. Tired women, faces veiled with white scarves against the scorching heat and dust, stand feeding the broken sheaves into the thresher; other women sack the grain for the sweating men to carry away in trucks. In the memory of the traveler the impression of fierce heat and

243 exhaustion hangs over the incessant labor of these peasants through the
178 fields of Greece at threshing time. And when the onlooker finally sees the
combine doing all of the operations at once, he experiences a feeling of relief.
It is as if the accumulated work and sweat of centuries begins to be
removed from the people who struggle for their bread.

[241] Mechanization has begun to do miracles in the waste lands of Greece as
well. One of the agricultural achievements since the war has been the drainage
[311] of marshlands by gigantic earth-moving machinery and dredges, thus
[406] putting large acreages under rice cultivation for the first time. Here the
machine is a mixed blessing, for where rice growing has come with its
[462] promise of higher income for the people, it has also meant much heavier
burdens for the women to whose lot falls the new task of planting the rice
and cultivating it while the men give the orders and manipulate the flow
of water.

178 The machine age has also brought pumps: not the kind powered by
312 blindfolded donkeys or by tired human feet, but the kind that are run by
gas engines or, in some places, by electricity. First, heavy drills operated
241 by a semigovernment agency reach down for the water and, when it is
406 found, the pumps are installed. The water is channeled into thirsty cotton
fields and vegetable gardens to help raise the agricultural production of
[433] Greece up to as much as 37 percent over prewar figures.

Around Larissa, in Thessaly, on the trip with the director of agriculture
241 and on other trips through that area, I had seen the great concentration of
422 mechanized equipment which contrasted sharply with many other areas of
178 Greece where peasants found it hard to get even iron plowshares or new
hoes or sickles. In this mechanized area I talked with a man who bought a
[407] tractor. Alekos was his name. This is what he told me: "Three years ago
I bought a tractor on the installment plan. The first year I did very well,
[452] for I could do work for my neighbors after I finished my own work and
they paid me a good income. Now six of my neighbors have tractors; owning
[464] one is like a craze and I do not have so much work to do for others."

Alekos went on to describe how the wheat of his village had been
[243] threshed by machinery since 1925, each farmer bringing his grain to the
place where the thresher had been set up, but nobody locally had owned a
tractor and the thresher had come in from outside. Since the war, however,
[554] tractors had become so popular that they were symbols of social prestige.
We told Alekos that we had been much amused by the sight of the peasants
going to market in town with their families aboard the tractors and wondered
if the higher the tractor the greater the prestige. He smiled and said:

> That is partly true but in the beginning only those who had 250 acres of land could buy a tractor and they needed a medium rather than a small tractor. Now anybody can buy a tractor who can afford one and will try to get one as good as his neighbor's.

At first I had to hire a driver for the tractor but my boy rode around with 241
him, asked a few questions, and learned how to drive. So the second season I 178
turned the tractor over to my son. Unfortunately, some people start driving before they know how and that is why an inexperienced person killed two men the other day not far from here.

Alekos estimated that only 30 percent of the tractor owners hired drivers and that the rest of the owners drove themselves or had members of their
family who could drive. He thought that this shift away from hiring drivers [407]
would mean a trend from the bigger tractors to smaller tractors for, as he put it, "If you are going to pay for a driver you might as well get a larger tractor and get your money's worth out of the driver. If you are going to do the work yourself, a small tractor is sufficient." Not many of them who now
drove, he thought, were very skillful at repairs; they were dependent on the [445]
tractor shops in town or upon the traveling automobile-borne shops which came out to the village when necessary.

In the midst of our conversation on tractors, Alekos interrupted to say,
much to the amusement of the three other men who had gathered around [123]
the stone wall where we sat, that he had at first been suspicious of us: [651]
"Some of us thought you were either tax collectors or officials from the
Agricultural Bank. We were ready to run away until we heard somebody [609]
cry out, 'Americans!' " [652]

That reminded one of the bystanders of a good story he had heard from
an acquaintance in the Peloponnesos who lived near Messenia. It seems [522]
that while a funeral procession was under way there, those participating [609]
saw a car with a policeman and other officials thought to be tax collectors. In perfect unison the pallbearers rested the coffin in the middle of the road and disappeared as though into thin air, leaving the officials confronting the lonely coffin.

After a laugh all around the circle, we steered Alekos back onto the
subject of his tractor in order to find out why he had bought a Lantz tractor [407]
instead of an American tractor. He thought the latter much more complicated. Diesel tractors, both German and American-made, are preferred to the gas-driven type.

"Has the tractor made much difference in your life?"

Alekos furrowed his brows and thought a moment. "Yes, it has made me 241
work much harder to pay off the debt I owe because of the tractor." He
agreed that the machine had probably not lightened his wife's work very 461
much, but a shrug of the shoulders seemed to imply, "why should it?" 462

Throughout the plains area of Greece I met many men like Alekos who,
in one financial plunge, had leaped from the peasant farming of their 178
fathers into the machine farming of the Western world.[4] Unlike Alekos, some of them seemed to think that the work of the women as well as that of the men had been considerably lightened. One man from Schematari,

241 near Thebes in Central Greece, had this to say: "The coming of a tractor
461 will 'rest a family.' They will have better yields due to more systematic
treatment and better plowing. Before, people had to work ten hours a day
178 while with a tractor they need to work from five to six hours at a maximum.
462 The fact that they have to work less brings joy to the house, for a person
who is rested has more of a mood for gaiety than one who is tired. The women certainly are helped for they do not have to be in the fields and can occupy themselves more with housework, with clothes, and can have more time for amusement."

241 Elsewhere I asked, "What difference does the machine make?" The di-
178 rector of the Larissa agricultural school answered this way:

> Twenty years ago this area around Larissa was in large *tsiflikia*, or estates, belonging to a very few families, which produced chiefly sheep. With the expropriation and redistribution of land there was a trend toward wheat, corn, alfalfa, so much so that even the slopes where the sheep once grazed are now cultivated.
>
> [407] Today Thessaly is the most mechanized area of Greece. In 1940 the plain around Larissa had 160 tractors; now the number is well over 1300. [Greece in 1952 had 5400 tractors and in 1956 over 12,000 compared with 1700 in 1938.][6]
>
> [727] The war, the occupation, and the guerrilla conflict brought an equality in that everyone lost their animals. Then, those who were able to buy tractors —
> [492] chiefly those who had had the animals before the war — gained an economic advantage. Before mechanization the peasant used to toil and sweat over his
> [423] land and get very little from it; now with mechanization people become more attached to the land since they see that they can make a profit from it. Those who before would have sold now hold on to it. The merchants in town complain
> [454] that there is a crisis, but there is none really, for the peasant is putting all of his spare money into fields and more equipment. Now he is farming in a scientific way.

At this point his wife, who had been sitting in the living room with us, began to speak. She owned some land which she had not visited for three years because of illness. When she did visit the peasants who worked this land for her, she found that they were telling her all kinds of things that she needed to do — to use fertilizer, which they had formerly thought unnecessary, and machinery, with which they had been unacquainted before. She attributed much of the recent adoption of machinery to the great movement of people during the war.

Her husband then pointed out that today there was a greater and finer
[476] spirit of competition among the farmers than formerly, for they try to see
who can get a greater yield. Mechanization leaves them more time for edu-
[461] cation and learning about new practices. It used to take a whole day for a
peasant to plow less than an acre with two horses but now he can do ten

acres a day with a tractor. "Before the war," he went on to say, "a peasant 241 ●
who tried something new was considered an amusing person with a loose 178
screw in his head. Even the agriculturists were received with 'what have
those educated people got to tell us who have callouses from working?' [461]
Also, the agriculturist has learned more about agriculture and more about [242]
people, changing for the better."

The director's wife agreed with what we had learned from Alekos about 241
the effect of mechanization upon woman's work. She did point out that 178
machine harvesting and threshing had relieved the housewife of an old
burden of feeding many people for long periods of time when the work was 461
done by hand. However, the women still plant tobacco and cultivate cotton.
Men are helping out a little more, but this hard field work in Thessaly is 462
still a woman's job. Here again there is some compensation for the women.
Although they have as much work now as before, they have more money. [517]
They will change into better dresses in the evening and go for a walk on a
weekday, something much less common before the last war. Finally, the [423]
director's wife pointed out, those families who own twenty to twenty-five
acres of land have acquired ease and prosperity and are becoming a well-to-do peasantry. [556]

Elsewhere around Larissa we inquired about the spread of mechaniza- 178
tion. The tractor dealers in the town put Alekos' problems in a somewhat 241
different light. We learned, for example, that a 46-horsepower tractor, with 407
starter and pneumatic tire wheels, cost 55,000 drachmas ($3,667); the [435]
purchaser had to pay 40 percent in cash and could sign a bill for the re- [452]
maining 60 percent, payable after 18 months to the Bank of Greece at the
rate of 16 percent interest. Dealers and some of the local government offi-
cials considered this rate most oppressive.

A second problem was that of spare parts, most of which had to be im- [439]
ported. Foreign-exchange difficulties and import restrictions make this
difficult; when the parts were not available, the owner of the tractor was
greatly inconvenienced, to put it mildly. We got some idea of the problem
of spare parts when we learned that there were 25 dealers of tractors of [444]
different makes in Larissa alone. The dealers attempted to teach the pur-
chasers how to use the machine and, a year or so before, the government [658]
had set up traveling schools which instructed in the operation and care of
the tractor and afterwards gave examinations for licenses. That year, out of [874]
1,200 farm workers examined, only 700 were given a license.

Dealers also indicated that the buyer of a tractor usually ordered a plow
and a disk-harrow, with many requesting grain drills. This equipment adds
greatly to the total cost. Most of the tractors were bought by individuals or [422]
by a group of three to five peasants, with only twenty to twenty-five tractors [474]
belonging to cooperatives.

In the tractor land of Larissa everything seems fine now. As in the case 178
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178 241 [434] of Alekos, the first few owners get good income from custom plowing, but with many tractors there is not very much supplementary income to go around. These steel horses in Greece plow more deeply, give more leisure, help spread scientific farming throughout the plains, and service an increasingly larger proportion of the 950,000 farms of the land. But with one tractor to every 70–80 farms, it is not surprising that Yannes, the tobacco grower from Alistrate, still waits for his horse so that he will not have to stand idly by while another finishes plowing a field.

THE HARVESTERS OF CHALKIDIKE (MACEDONIA)

Social changes, and especially those connected with mechanization, frequently wear two faces — one bright, the other dark. In Athens I had heard from fellow Americans about the growing use of machinery, the previously mentioned over-all increase in agricultural production to more than 37 percent above the prewar figure, and the steps being taken to rationalize agriculture to an even greater degree. These programs represented not only heavy investments of dollars and drachmas, but also considerable self-sacrifice on the part of American and Greek staff members with a missionary zeal for their work and a willingness to work overtime. There was no question of the need for Greece to become a part of the scientific revolution in farming, but it was at times perplexing to find that little thought was being given to the social effects of this revolution on the people in the rural areas.

178 241 243 464 Once out in the provinces, away from the bright programs of Athens, I saw the dark face of mechanization. While riding with the director of agriculture of Larissa on the drive previously mentioned, I was somewhat shocked to hear him say that he was glad the recent storm had visited the area.

"Why is that?" I asked. "Doesn't it make it harder to harvest the grain?"

"Yes, that's the point," he replied. "Now it will have to be done by hand in many places, giving work to some of the people from the mountain villages in this area who depend upon the harvesting to earn their supply of wheat for much of the year. Without the bread from this wheat they cannot live."

Again, a nomarch of Thessalonike talked to me of the people displaced by mechanization. He tried to see the good as well as the bad, indicating that machines without any question had raised the yields by putting more land under cultivation and by making better farming methods possible. He, too, however, used much the same words as had the official in Larissa, pointing out that he was glad to see the rains in Macedonia since it meant that harvesting would be done by hand.[*]

243 124 One bright June morning found us in Niketas, a small coastal village in Chalkidike where mechanical threshing was in progress on the edge of the

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land but work rented land or as farm laborers; and three are in business 463
(baker, coffeehouse proprietor, and dressmaker). Some of these land-
owners, in addition to farming, run a local business, or practice a trade [423]
such as carpentering and smithing, but their basic orientation is toward
the land.

Being farmers, one might assume that they could grow some of their 621
own food. A few manage to do this. Of the 589 acres of cultivated land
belonging to the village people, 338 acres are in tobacco. This cash crop, 241
therefore, takes up about 57 percent of all arable land. Corn accounts for 511
187 acres, vegetable gardens 25 acres, potatoes 20 acres, alfalfa 6 acres,
and other crops 13 acres. But no matter what methods one uses in Dafnon,
it is impossible to grow enough food for 1145 people on the shallow land.
There are two ways out: first, grow a cash crop such as tobacco, sell it,
and use the income to buy food and other necessities; the second is for
a large number of families to be resettled elsewhere and thus provide suffi-
cient land for those that remain. The latter suggestion is impossible, since
other rural areas are also overcrowded and the opportunities in the cities
are not yet equal to the demand of those making the exodus from the rural
areas. Indeed, cities have been discouraging the influx of new families in [369]
search of work.

This leaves only the other possibility of getting most of the family income 249
from tobacco alone. Here, again, the tobacco producer is caught at the
mercy of the market or in the "price scissors." Without food of his own 435
production, he has to sell his tobacco at any price offered simply in order 511
to have bread for his children. The producer, according to this study of
Dafnon, knew that tobacco prices, including the premium paid by the state, [458]
had risen over prewar prices 260 times. This was small consolation for,
in reading *Vema,* an Athenian newspaper dated December 14, 1951, he [204]
also learned that costs of foodstuffs had risen 425 times, clothing 554 times,
fuel 394 times, sundries 367 times, manufactured goods 467 times, and imported supplies 416 times.

It is difficult to grow tobacco, particularly the Oriental type (Basmas 249
variety) that requires so much manipulation, leaf by leaf, with an average leaf being four inches long and two and one-half inches wide. The first plowing is usually done in February or March. Seedbeds are heavily manured, and the seed is well mixed with sand and ashes, then sown. The beds are pressed down by foot for better germination; sieved manure is scattered over them; and the beds are watered. This watering is continued, usually morning and evening, until the end of May when the plants are ready to be transplanted. Because of this need for water, the beds are always located near some accessible water supply.

The tobacco fields are usually plowed under three times before the to-
bacco plants are set out. The same fields are used for tobacco year after [242]

258 placement in a stack one at a time after three gallons of boiling water have
[576] been poured over each, and the final subjection of the stack to 200 pounds
of pressure. If the peasant carefully watched this while his olives were being
[465] processed, it would show lack of trust in the honesty of the millowner, to
whom he must give 10 percent of the oil before he takes the rest home to
be stored in earthenware jars for later use or sale. When he comes for his
[273] olives, the peasant will probably bring a gallon of wine to the workmen who
drink to his health, saying "Kalaphagoto" (May it be well eaten). Later,
251 in visiting the homes of the villagers, I asked about the storage of the oil
262 and found that the big jars were kept in the storeroom with the hay and
fodder. These jars were covered with a wooden lid. When I removed the
lid I noticed a rancid odor quite different from the oil I had sampled during
the pressing at the mill. "This oil has spoiled," I said, in my ignorance.
"No, that is just right," I was told. "We want our oil to smell like oil,"
which was another way of saying that a certain degree of rancidness was
considered most desirable.

465 And seeing in the home one of the young women who had been engaged
[245] in the harvesting a few weeks before, I asked how much she had earned.
Since she was a good worker, she had been given 1.5 okas (4.2 pounds) of
oil per day for 42 days. When told how many dollars such an amount of
pure olive oil would bring in America, her eyes opened wide and she said,
"If only I had all of my oil in that many dollars I could start to build that
house in Athens that I want for my dowry." The six or seven men that
[258] work through the season in the mill are even better off, for they receive
2.5 okas of oil per day as wages, and the foreman gets 3 okas; in addition,
their food is usually provided by either the millowner or the peasant producers who bring their crop to be pressed.

241 The description of the distribution and utilization of arable land and
433 these encounters with the peasant at work show that the peasant is not
511 so self-subsistent as he used to be. He is more than a producer who uses
only what he grows; he must also market his products to pay off his loan from the agricultural bank, which he incurred in order to get more equipment, good seed, or better livestock. He needs money for taxes, clothing, many food items, and other necessities such as kerosene and hardware. What he gets for the work he has done depends upon government credit and price policies, world markets, his adoption of efficient farm practices, and the marketing facilities set up near him.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponnesos
[Shepherds]

621 669 [778] crimes of the Communist guerrillas in the late 1940s, according to the people, was their willful mutilation by bullets of some of the church's prized icons of the Virgin and saints.

233 427 ●241 [511] Even when their houses are repaired and a new school is built as a result of a gift by former Valtetsi residents now in the United States, the problems of the people will not be solved. Every year they find it more difficult to locate grazing land for their flocks on the plains below, and they cannot get back to their prewar standard of living unless they can double or treble the number of their sheep. One complained: "The different owners down below are putting in crops on the land that used to lie fallow. They ask more money if we increase the size of our flocks. Since I had trouble with the man from whom I have been renting in the past near Kranidi, this year I went to Messenia instead. I made arrangements with a farmer to bring my flock there, paid him in advance, but when I got there with my sheep he had plowed the land promised to me and had planted potatoes. He had even plowed beneath the olive trees so that there was no grass for my sheep. I could only pasture one month there, lost the money I had paid in advance, and had to come back to Valtetsi ahead of schedule to get pasture for my flock."

233 234 511 [221] Other shepherds in the Peloponnesos are saying the same thing. Some, with whom we talked on the road from Kalamata to Megalopolis, were anxious to get to their home villages in the mountains. They were carrying their milk- and cheese-making equipment with them, but their women and children had gone on ahead to get the houses ready for summer occupancy. One man complained: "I haven't been able to make ends meet although I have two hundred sheep and have sold four thousand okas of milk. The pasture didn't grow because of the dry weather and I had to buy fodder for my animals."

233 474 We found some of the men working with others in partnerships termed *sebries*. One variety of sebria calls for a shepherd to look after and maintain the flock of another for three years. The losses and profits are equally shared. After the three-year time limit is up, each sebros (partner) takes by lot half of the common flock. If the cooperation comes to an end before the expected time limit, the division is made differently; that is, if it lasted for two years, the flock is divided into three parts and each partner takes one part; the third part is divided, two thirds to the man who owned the flock originally and one third to the shepherd. If it lasted one year, the owner receives five sixth and the shepherd one sixth of this third part. Another variation of the sebria was the pooling of animals by the owners into a flock which they jointly managed as a common flock and whose products they distributed in a proportion equal to the number of sheep contributed to the flock. This arrangement is made if the pasture land is too large for one man to manage. But even such cooperative arrangements

Vlachs EH15

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Peloponnesos

Sara Katsani EH14

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do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shep- 233
herd today. 474

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched G
trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*fou-*
stanella), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans 233
by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek 241
farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of
fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains 177
farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But 178
to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent
the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal [291]
terms "occupational displacement." [234]

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaint-
ances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages G
with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesi- 124
tant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural
setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue 137
flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves push-
ing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and
the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmer-
ing indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and
inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the spring-
time colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and G
then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene
around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep 517
which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer 233
pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to
agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many
problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the
serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

THE "NOMADS" OF EPIRUS

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that G
a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, 563
the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece. S

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I V
met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people G
of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened
to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation [233]
to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from [221]
time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now
Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.[8] They dress differ-
ently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EHL5

484 horses on which very small children were perched somewhat precariously on
492 wooly blanket-rugs stacked up on the saddles. On one horse we saw several
221 hens tied to a saddle and I wondered what the horse thought of being
turned into a mobile poultry yard; cows, heifers, and goats were also a
V part of the procession under the care of the women. The women were carry-
[482] ing their share of the load, some with babies, others with water kegs strapped
to their backs. The lowly donkeys were carrying the tent poles. As we
passed the long straggling march of people and animals, we blew our horn
and enjoyed the open-mouthed astonishment of the other Vlachs as they
saw one of their number riding in such state.

V She explained to us how they stopped before midday and rested, and
484 then after milking the sheep traveled during the night. When we wondered
221 whether or not the children enjoyed the six-month shift, she said, "They
learn to make the move for it is a necessity." "How many times have you
233 moved like this?" we asked. "As many times as I have years — twenty-
three." She was amused at our ignorance. Her family also was having trou-
V ble over the rental of winter pasture, for the farmer from whom they had
233 been renting wanted to put the land into crops. With an air of assurance,
427 she added, "But we are holding it under the rent law." Before the last war
G legislation had been passed forbidding a farmer to put into cultivation pas-
● 241 ture that had been rented for three consecutive years to a shepherd, unless
he proved to the representative of the Ministry of Agriculture that he abso-
427 lutely needed it. This action had to be taken a year in advance and the
shepherd had to be notified.

V After a while, our lively passenger told us that she wanted to get out at
484 the next turn, for that was the rendezvous point at which the women would
stop to unload the pack animals, set up camp, and wait for the men with
221 the flocks to catch up with them before noon. Our conversations with other
G members of this group dealt more with the problems they were facing as a
123 shepherd people than with the customs and beliefs which set them off from
their fellow nomads. In Metsovo, to be described later in connection with
a funeral I witnessed, we saw other aspects of Koutso-Vlach character which
V need not concern us here. Of the three nomadic groups they have been most
114 fully described and documented in the literature, notably in the memorable
book by Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans* (1914), which was
361 based on extended acquaintance with the people of Samarina, another well-
known Koutso-Vlach village.*

V Four of the effects of this migratory life which Wace and Thompson list
221 seem to hold true for all of the nomadic groups even in 1953, and they de-
serve brief mention. Such a migration, for instance, presents a wider out-
182 look on life in general in contrast to the utter stagnation normal in remote
villages. At the same time, it is a serious financial drain, for two houses
must be kept up; nevertheless, what is lost in cash is perhaps gained in

Vlachs EH15

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These nomads apparently feel that many of the keep-off signs are put up out of spite, thus bringing to light the distrust between the peasant and the nomad. I had read a most unfavorable characterization of the Vlach, which discussed the peasant's hostility to the nomad, in *Home Life in Hellas* by Z. Duckett Ferriman. Writing in 1910, he said:

> The Vlach ignores the law and defies it. His presence in the vicinity of civilization is marked by rapine. He will steal the flocks of the peasant when he can, and will pasture his own flocks on their growing crops. He is a nuisance to the neighborhood he visits, and the peasantry are heartily glad when he takes his departure in spring to share the mountain with the wild boar and the eagle. Devastation marks his progress. . . .[13]

In 1953 I gained no such picture of the nomad, nor did any of the Greek officials or peasants with whom I talked try to give the nomad such a bad reputation. Their major concern in the border area was more with the political reliability of the nomad, particularly the Karagouni. Perhaps it was some of the age-old distrust coming to the fore, but seldom did the Greek soldiers in World War II place much confidence in these wandering shepherds. Because of this, I was not surprised to learn from Berates and his men that they felt that the government was bent on destroying their way of life and forcing them into other occupations. At least three rather high officials in Northern Greece confirmed this point of view, but insisted that the policies were ultimately in the nomads' interest.

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The whole problem was neatly summarized by Michael Adler, a field representative of the American Mission to Greece, who has had a long and distinguished period of service both in Epirus and Macedonia. He pointed out that what we were witnessing was an attempt to bring conditions of four hundred years ago up to date. Since under Turkish rule large areas of land were rented to these wandering shepherds, the tax collector knew where to find them as they came and went on their migrations. Upon liberation in the nineteenth century, the Greeks settled on the land and started developing their own flocks; competition became very keen and the nomads began to get the worst of it. With the coming of the flood of refugees from Asia Minor in the twenties, much land formerly used for grazing was turned into cropland. More recently the border areas, particularly those in Macedonia, which formerly supported thousands of animals, have been closed, with the result that the nomadic people are more and more being forced into a pocket toward the plain, where they are naturally not particularly welcome. Adler had found the nomadic peoples intelligent and fully aware of the situation, and he felt that most of them, particularly the young men, were seeking permanent settlement as fast as this could be arranged. In any event, the gaining of citizens' rights means for the erstwhile nomads that they can no longer be misused by those who don't want them. In other

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233 but these did not hamper the family's activities at all — "Just like a flea on an elephant," as one of my informants put it.

474 Originally, late in the nineteenth century, when the family began to rise to prominence, there were four brothers. The second brother became the head, "because he had the most brains," it was said. Upon his death the eldest became head. When the eldest died, the third in line took over until he was killed by the Italians in 1940. Since that time the fourth brother has been chief. Now the family is said to be so numerous that it has run out of names and so has called the most recent arrival "Petoules Petoules." The chief's consent is necessary for the marriage arrangements for everyone in the family and also for all of the hired shepherds employed by it. The family still sticks solely to livestock production but is building huge refrigerators for the cheese awaiting sale and delivery.

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[474] The Petoules family is now the exception rather than the rule. For many years to come the tselingata will exist in modified form, but more and more the central government will become a substitute for the arbitrary rule of the chief shepherd.[15] Where some old patriarch still holds sway, his grandsons coming back from a tour of duty in the army will plague him with their new ideas, and many will, as many are already doing, refuse to go off on lonely vigils with their flocks. Today hired shepherds are hard to find and the army experience is mentioned over and over again as the cause of the shift to other occupations. Young men with vision, seeing that the future lies elsewhere, are planning accordingly.

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STRESS AND STRAIN

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621 The changing life of the shepherd is seen not only in the movement of his flocks from one pasture to another and in his adjustment to the solitude of days away from home; many facets of his life also are revealed in the study of his village, as our visit to Valtetsi showed. The real stress and strain between two coexistent ways of life — pastoralism and agriculture — are felt in personal community relationships even more than in the impersonal contacts between peasants and shepherds on the highway.

Greek villages, of course, run the gamut from those where every family is primarily pastoral to those where the only sheep or goats kept are the two or three around the house for a small family milk supply. In between are those with a mixed economy.[16] Two villages of this type, both of which happen to be in Roumele, illustrate the kind of conflict that springs up between farmers and livestock owners, a conflict reminiscent of our earlier American West with the hostility between the open-range cattlemen and the sodbusters who put up barbed-wire fences.

In the first village, near Mesolongi, the farmers complain that they have no security in their fields because the livestock owners have the major power and influence and they follow the old tradition of allowing the flocks

to graze all over the community area as soon as the harvest is in. If the 233
farmers leave any grain in the fields after harvesting, the sheep seem to 241
think it part of their daily ration and tackle it with delight. The farmers 578
have little recourse, since the sheep owners are elected as community councilmen and officers of the cooperative and are always in a position to defend 621
their interests.

Much the same situation prevails in a village near Agrinion where over seven thousand sheep and over one thousand goats are kept. Recently, some of what was formerly pasture land has been distributed to those without land, through a cooperative association newly formed for that purpose, [423] [474]
thus restricting the amount of grazing area. These new owners, as well as others without livestock, resent the invasion of their fields by the flocks immediately after harvest. Little control can be exercised unless shepherds so desire, for none of the parcels are fenced off and it is customary to let the animals roam at will when crops are in.

The nomarch of Serrai stated that in his area of Macedonia it was very common for the whole community to rise up in protest against the pasturing of the flocks by shepherds on land belonging to the community. The shepherds insist that they will continue to use these lands; so the villagers come to the nomarch and ask whether or not they must let those so-and-sos graze sheep on their land. The nomarch assures them that they are within their rights to keep the shepherds off, and they leave the office with a determined look, as though no number of shepherds could budge them from their resolve. When these local leaders get back home, some shepherd comes up to them and says: "My sheep will die, my family will die if you don't let me use that land." The people then change their minds and give the shepherd permission to graze his flocks there. Later on, when they see the nomarch and he asks them what happened, they say: "Poor man, we couldn't let him starve, so we let the sheep graze there." But such disputes do not always end so amicably.

Another source of conflict is the lowly goat. The parties to the conflict 233
are not peasants arguing it out with one another, but rather the forest service trying to forbid the peasants from keeping goats. During the dictator- 578
ship of General Metaxas (1936–1941), a law was passed and enforced 185
which forbade the peasants from keeping goats. The justification for this measure is that goats, a browsing animal, do much more damage to the [656]
forests than do sheep, a grazing animal. In the case of a pastoral village in Western Macedonia, not far from Kastoria, the prewar number of eight [669]
thousand sheep and goats shrank during the conflict because of requisition by the guerrillas, army of occupation, and such, to seven hundred and fifty. In order to rebuild livestock numbers quickly as a means of eking out a living, the people got together flocks of goats. The Agricultural Office has [654]
supported them in this, while the Forestry Office opposes the idea. The

233 peasants argued to the foresters: "Ten communities in this area formerly
578 made their living from goats and prospered; we know of no village which
has made its living solely off forest products. We prefer the goats."

185 Then, as though to clinch their arguments, they pointed out that they
654 must stable their goats for only forty days during a year, but their sheep,
which cannot browse, need to be stabled and fed at home for one hundred and fifty days a year. To the peasants this is obviously an advantage; to the forestry program it is just as obviously a menace. The result: impasse.

The same question is being raised all over the country in villages as far apart as some on the Bulgarian border in Central Macedonia and others around Amphissa in Roumele. From the standpoint of these villagers the goat is the answer, but the central government seems to be backing the
Forestry Office. Some commentators on the issue point out that the peas-
● [241] ant's practice of setting fires to burn over land or accidentally starting fires
through carelessness is perhaps as big an enemy to trees as the goat. It will be interesting a generation from now to see who has won out in these isolated mountainous outposts of Greece. (My bet is on the goat.)

233 A final contrast will reveal the complexity of small-livestock production
in a country as regionally diverse as Greece. Many villages could be cited
178 which twenty-five years ago possessed twenty thousand sheep or more. With
the passing of the years, the numbers declined because of the gradual shrinkage of available pasture area. While sheep are still raised in these communities today, they are being further reduced and turned into "home flocks" fed in or near the village throughout the year. But a reverse process has also been in motion since 1950. In tobacco villages around Xanthe, in
[652] Thrace, sheep raising is being pushed by the agricultural authorities and
[249] loans are being extended by the Agricultural Bank — all to serve the double
purpose of giving the depressed tobacco farmer some supplementary income and also to take advantage of unutilized pasture land in that part of the country.

This illustrates the fact that sheep (and goats) still are the best and at times the only sound economic adjustment to some of the terrain areas of Greece; almost everywhere they are good supplementary means of adjustment. There will probably be a stepped-up trend toward pasture improvement, which means that pastures — particularly those on the plains — can be made to carry more animals per acre. The day may come when the sheep will be driven in large trucks up to their summer pastures, thus avoiding the days of grazing along the roads of migration, or in many of the agricultural areas dairy cattle may replace sheep as producers of milk. But these developments are still in the future.

Symbolic of what seems to be in store for many shepherds was the quiet, middle-aged man we met in front of a coffeehouse in the refugee village of
[291] Menidi, between Agrinion and Arta in Roumele. There along the sea he

462 Before
356 Easter the wife whitewashes the house, the wall around the yard, and the
oven, even pressing her husband into service should this be necessary. She
249 strings tobacco leaves in late summer; she also strings peppers and onions
251 to hang under the eastern eaves or on the door post. After the shearing is
236 done in the spring, she is anxious to get the wool washed and hung up to
dry in festoons around the yard; she dries beans on a blanket out in the
251 yard or, if she lives in Southern Greece or the islands, uses the cement cover
of the cistern for the beans as well as for drying figs and almonds.

231 The so-called home or house animals — one or two sheep or goats, which
462 are often petted, and the donkey — are under her supervision much of the
time, although the man on his way to the fields may take the smaller ani-
235 mals with him and stake them out to graze. The women also have full re-
sponsibility for poultry except around Attica, where commercialized poul-
try raising also absorbs the attention of the men. Caring for the swine and
a family cow, should there be one, is a woman's job. But the men will as-
233 sume responsibility for a herd of cows, a flock of sheep, the oxen, or any
343 horses. When new homes are built, special stables for these animals are
provided in the yard. The women are busy, as would be rural women any-
461 where, when a pig is slaughtered. As a matter of fact, every member of the
family usually participates in some stage of the proceedings, looking upon
it as a gala occasion, more fun than work.

462 Although gardening is looked upon as woman's work, the man usually
241 prepares the soil and leaves the planting and cultivation up to the woman.
Nor is he apt to help when his daughter goes out with a neighbor woman to
231 gather acorns for the pigs, even though it means that one of the women
has to spend most of the afternoon up in the trees shaking down the acorns
to the woman below.

462 Woman's participation in field work is gradually changing throughout
241 much of Greece. In Polygyros, the chief city in the Chalkidike Peninsula,
178 the men proudly point out — as they do in Crete — that women do not work
in the fields. More and more the men are taking over the field work and the
313 cutting of wood, in which they formerly expected the women to help. One
still will see many women out in the fields chopping cotton or planting rice,
with a man — apparently directing them — sitting down in the shade. As
589 the Bishop of Messenia pointed out, many of the women working in the
field are widows, or their husbands are away at work, at the market, or per-
haps sick. He thought that the Greek women working their own land were
464 better off than American women employed in factories, although the Bishop
did not know that one third of the Greek labor force insured under sickness
745 and pension plans (which means paid employees covered by government reg-
ulation) was made up of women.[12] At harvest time, too, the women wield
their sickles day in and day out in areas where the mechanical harvesters

462 241 178

have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor.

[464] [854] [855] [369] [654] [491] [242] [438]

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time.

KEEPING THE FAMILY WELL

758 [462] [574] [511] [369]

Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

753

Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

[755] [757] [776]

> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are

RELIGIOUS HOLIDAYS AND NAMEDAYS

Family members, however, do not have to wait for the coming of an 796
annual festival or fair to find an occasion for dancing or taking things 527
easy. There are many other religious holidays calling for special observances
in addition to Easter, the most important, and the Twelve Days surround-
ing Christmas. For example, Greek civil servants observe, with pay, ap- [465]
proximately twenty-five holidays throughout the year, and industrial work-
ers honor about half this number, some of them with pay. The villager,
closer to the traditions for which the holidays stand, will celebrate the full
twenty-five and others added for good measure.

To trace all of these holidays would call for a detailed Calendar of [184]
Customs, a list far too lengthy to be incorporated here even if one had
mastered through the years the many regional variations throughout
Greece.[6] What is more important is the realization that holidays do play [241]
an important part in adding rhythm and color to family and community life,
as well as indicating to the farmer, whose agricultural work cycle is closely
meshed with the regularly recurring holidays, that it is time for him to take
up or finish some important activity.

I tend to associate each of the major Greek holidays with the particular 527
village or city I happened to be in at the time of its observance. On one
May Day, for example, I was in the heart of the Peloponnesos where groups
of school children with their teachers were taking walks through the fields,
an excursion-picnic. And, then, in the early afternoon to be invited to par-
ticipate in the festivities at the school proved pleasant indeed. An important [789]
part of the activities was the hanging of the wreath over the door of the
school, a pagan custom supposed to drive away evil.

Near Phlorina, in 1953 and again in Athens in 1955, I observed the 796
commemoration of the holiday in honor of St. John the Baptist on June 24.
This pagan midsummer festival has survived on into the present so much 372
so that even in Athens, to say nothing of the villages, on St. John's Eve [369]
small boys light fires in the yards or streets and jump over them. One is
supposed to burn all worthless things as a symbol of purification of the [783]
house and, as token of personal purification, one jumps over the fire while
shouting "I leave my sins and my fleas behind me." [7] Into the same fire
the peasants throw the withered May Day wreaths. This too is the evening 796
when the girls of the village seek to learn their fortunes from the "dumb"
or speechless water which a maiden or, in some places a young boy, 787
brings from the fountain while remaining absolutely quiet despite the ef-
forts of the bystanders to make the bearer talk. Later, each girl drops some
easily identified possession into the jar which is "locked" until the next
evening, thereby giving the name of *kledona* (from *kledi,* key) to this par-
ticular custom. When it is unlocked, the girls sing songs which foretell

796 whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung
[787] with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

[771] To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older
[243] villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on
[252] July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17,
[245] the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On
[782] this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor.
[821] Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

[231] Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards
[357] (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the
[675] contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened
(November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year
[241] (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[8] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

527 These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In
[782] Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because,
[535] as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the
[574] lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his nameday, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

796 The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one
[785] part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

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776 considered so real that many villagers going outdoors after dark take both
a light and a cross for protection. Nor should one do any washing of
784 clothes during the Twelve Days, go to the fields to work, borrow from a
296 neighbor, or believe in the efficacy of dreams since they will not come
true at this time.*

241 After the Emmanuels have had their nameday on the twenty-sixth and
426 the Stephens theirs on the twenty-seventh, the women start preparing the
787 traditional New Year's Eve dishes. On the thirtieth special attention is given
to the baking of the *vasilopita,* a special cake named in honor of Saint
262 Basil (Hagios Vasilis), a very important figure. A coin has been placed in
the cake, on the top of which the date of the year is written. Chestnuts and
almonds are used for decorations.

533 On New Year's Eve, throughout the day, the children go around carol-
ing again much as they did on Christmas Eve, but on this occasion it is
824 St. Basil's kalenda. The children carry a highly decorated branch of the
777 sorb-tree or sometimes the olive with which they tap people on the
shoulder in order to wish them good luck during the year. In return they
431 expect a gift such as dried fruit. The youngsters add a festive air to the
796 day and help build up the emotional crescendo that becomes quite evident
as evening approaches — everyone is anxious to find out what their luck
777 will be for the coming year. Excitement is particularly keen around midnight with the cutting of the vasilopita; first, the head of the house cuts a piece of this cake for the Virgin, then one for the house, then one for the job that the head of the house does, then his own piece to be followed by one for his wife and each child in turn. Everyone is curious to find out in what piece the lucky coin will turn up. Should it be in the Virgin's piece, it will be placed on the household shrine, but if any member of the family finds it in his piece he feels fortunate indeed.

431 If the family members exchange any gifts, it is done at this special event
524 on New Year's Eve and not at Christmas. In Northern Greece especially
the villagers play cards to test their luck. If anyone loses he is apt to say,
"If I lose at cards, I'll win during the year." Those who win say, "I'll be
lucky."

796 The devout go to the New Year's Day church service at which the
liturgy of St. Basil is employed, and when they come home they are care-
788 ful to step into the house with their right foot; if they have brought a new
icon from the church, the one carrying it will step into the house first. Dur-
574 ing the day the men pay calls on such village notables as the community
president, the priest, the doctor, or the schoolteacher and are served wine
with a sort of canape. The women, dressed in their very best, serve the
guests. Students, soldiers, and others away from home try to get back to
524 their village for at least a two- or three-day visit. On New Year's Day the
card games are taken up again.

476 539 gain, for the proverbs say: "agreement is law"; "one ties the oxen by the horns, the man by his word." But the rugged individualists can also quote proverbs to show the dangers of depending upon others: "better a threshing floor small but your own"; "the donkey owned in common is eaten by the dogs"; "the wolf has a thick neck because he has to work alone."

476 492 Perhaps the simplest form of mutual aid is found in the case of two farmers, each of whom possesses but a single animal. They take turns using both animals to pull a plow or to do some other task where a team is needed. These partners are often called *smichtes* or *sebroi*. The Yannes described in an earlier chapter, who was disconsolately waiting for his partner to finish with his horse so that he could take the team to his own fields, was engaged in this kind of mutual aid. In Epirus, for instance, those with a single animal are called *monovodoi* (or single-oxen farmers), and each tries to join up with someone else in order to have a team available when needed. Similarly, someone with a donkey or two lends his animals to another farmer who needs to haul his cereal or hay from the fields or to market, in the expectation that he will have the use of the borrower's animals when in similar need.

476 233 Somewhat more complex in detail but similar in type are the arrangements that shepherds make concerning the care of their flocks and the distribution of the produce, which was mentioned earlier in the description of the changing life of the shepherd.

476 241 Mutual aid also extends to the exchange of agricultural labor, as in the case of the potato diggers. It can also occur between two families who throughout the work season combine their labor resources, culminating in tremendous output at harvest time. Or labor can be repaid by some other kind of service, as was the case in Malakassa (Attica), where the president of the commune went to the coffeehouse and said that he needed some help in harvesting a crop. Sixteen men from the coffeehouse went along to aid. When we asked the coffeehouse proprietor what these men would receive in return we were told, "The president has a cart and will help each of these men haul in stuff from their fields when they need him." [493]

476 But there are times when much help is needed for some special event which does not recur frequently in the life of an individual family. Here the traditional "working bee" is assembled. For example, a family decides to plant a new vineyard or to put up some kind of a building. It calls upon its neighbors and relatives for help, feeds them well, and eventually pays back the labor provided when called upon by those who contributed. We found mutual-aid groups also busy making cheese for their own use and for sale or digging clay which they worked into home-made brick. [339]

[573] Women, however, seem to be more fully involved in a wide variety of mutual-aid arrangements. They may help each other with certain household chores — carding wool, baking bread, carrying fuel (*pournari*

476 573 branches) from the hillsides to the house. But the most frequently described and the most romantic arrangements are the *nychteria*, or the groups of women who work together in the evening:

> [562] [574] [535] [533] In the nychteria women help each other finish lighter types of work such as carding, the breaking and cleaning of almonds, cornhusking, kneading of ring biscuits, and the like. In these nocturnal pursuits in certain places customs are strict and men are strictly forbidden to participate. Because this type of work is housework and is carried out in the late hours of the day, it usually takes the form of a social gathering. Drinks and roasted chickpeas are offered, jokes are told, games are played, stories and anecdotes are told, and there is singing and dancing.[1]

[372] Once in a while this dancing may last until dawn. In the summertime, especially, the women gather in the village lanes and spin by the light of the moon or a torch of resinous wood.

476 [589] When a woman, whose husband is dead or off in the army, needs help which no kinship group can provide, she will go to the head of some other family and say: "My son has gone into the army. I have only daughters. If you will help me in man's work my daughters will help you." They then become *kollegoi* (colleagues or partners) and carry out the agreed-upon obligations.

[226] [241] [422] These examples are not intended to cover the wide range of mutual-aid activities, but they serve to highlight their main features. Fishermen have numerous arrangements for helping one another; farmers may rent a field and work it jointly, or even own olive or nut trees in common. In general, these mutual-aid arrangements are viewed as quite different from landlord-tenant contracts which occurred in many forms before the land redistribution in the 1920s. Those tied together in mutual-aid agreements think of themselves as coequal and not as superior and subordinate partners. Nor do these mutual-aid traditions ordinarily apply to cases where money alone is given as full payment for services received. Instead, they make it possible for villagers to meet many of their important needs without having to pay money *for services rendered*. The mutual-aid practices discussed here differ also from what might be called philanthropy or deeds done for "the good of the soul" which will be looked at more closely in connection with the villager's religion.

[157] Beyond any question, there is a strong strain of cooperation even among the individualistic Greeks. Although somewhat overidealized, the following comment by T. K. Papaspyropoulos about his Peloponnesian village portrays the essence of mutual aid there:

> When somebody gets sick everybody goes to visit him and look after him. When a young girl gets married all the village goes and helps. When they sow, plow, winnow, or do any other village tasks one person helps the other.

exclusive use of the members of the society; and protection by law from interference by outside interests. In return for these privileges, the state reserved the right to approve the by-laws of the cooperatives and to inspect and audit their books.[4] 474 656

Between the two world wars some of the cooperatives took on a compulsory character. For instance, many refugees who were settled on land in the 1920s were formed into cooperatives which could not be dissolved [167] or from which individuals could not withdraw until complete payment was made. In some districts citrus and grape producers were compelled to deliver their products to the cooperatives. [241] Also, compulsory cooperatives, organized by a majority vote of the farmers in a region, could take over the common utilization of land, forests, and pastures, or the task of grafting of barren and wild trees. Quite aside from these compulsory cooperatives and the widespread credit cooperatives, there were many voluntary cooperatives for marketing, production, and insurance against fire, hail, and frost. [456]

In Greece, as in all other Balkan countries, the agricultural cooperatives through the years have been under the supervision of the Agricultural Bank, from which the government channeled credit to the rural sector of the economy. 474 652 The local societies were grouped into regional cooperative unions. Instead of having to deal individually with each peasant who wanted a loan on his livestock or against the next crop, the government officials could leave the initial screening of applications to local cooperative officials, then to those at the regional level, while reserving for themselves final approval. Under Metaxas, who ruled as a dictator just prior to World War II, the cooperative section of the Agricultural Bank received no support and, in all probability, cooperatives would have found continuation difficult if Metaxas had been in power for a long period.[5] [643]

Then came the war years, which were difficult for cooperatives as well as for everything else in Greece. 474 177 The situation at the end of the war was described in 1946 when the newly created Food and Agriculture Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations, sent its very first Mission team to Greece to survey the situation and make recommendations. This team, headed by Franklin S. Harris, President of the Utah State College of Agriculture, found that the "machinery" of cooperative activities had developed to such a point before World War II that it could provide an important facility for postwar rural rehabilitation.[6] Most of the FAO Mission's recommendations dealt with ways in which this facility could best be used. However, at least two points were brought out which have a direct bearing upon the peasant himself. The first suggests that greater responsibility be given the local village cooperative, thereby placing more control over making individual production loans, receiving repayments, and keeping the individual loan accounts in the hands of the peasants themselves. The general tendency in most cooperative systems is for the center of gravity [652]

474 177 [652] to shift away from the village to the national capital, where the Agricultural Bank is located, or to the provincial cities, where the bank has branches to which the individual peasants are supposed to go to "process" their loans.

A second important question touched upon in the FAO report was whether the producers' cooperative ought to be compulsory in one or both of two ways: first, requiring all of those who produce a given commodity (such as tobacco) and who live in a given village to belong to a cooperative and, second, forcing all cooperative members to market their produce and buy their supplies only through the cooperative. The FAO Mission counseled against making the cooperatives compulsory, and the same point of view has been held by most of the American advisers who have worked with the American Aid Mission in Greece. Greek government officials, [241] however, sometimes think that legal sanctions would strengthen cooperatives and thereby tighten the economic machinery through which 10–12 percent of the Greek tobacco crop and about 80 percent of olive oil, to mention but two crops, reach the market.[7]

474 626 The cooperative leaders, however, face a problem of social as well as legal sanctions: they would like to guide the cooperative movement from the stage where each cooperative member is a law unto himself to the point where any farmer who fails to sell his produce through his cooperative has to reckon with the disapproval of his fellow farmers. This can only be done through a long-term program of education which stresses not cooperation as an abstract ideal but the fact that a cooperative organization depends upon the support of every member and is not much stronger than its weakest link. It is in this matter of interpretation, of teaching the villager the meaning of cooperation, that the cooperative movement is not very successful. Cooperative officials are so busy being administrators that they do not take time to be interpreters, to be sure their communication strikes a responsive chord in the peasant. Then, too, they tend to feel that they have so much authority (such as fiscal control) in their hands that they do not have to depend upon the subtler forms of authority — namely, pressure by loyal members upon those who would deviate from what is considered good cooperative practice. This is tied in with the psychological problem of making the members feel that the cooperative is theirs rather than the instrumentality of cooperative and governmental officials who live outside the community.

474 One report by A. W. Willis, an American marketing specialist, goes so far as to say: "The Greek cooperative law makes cooperatives an arm of the Government and actually prohibits member control as well as any profit acquiring to members. The entire agricultural economy of this state could profit through true Cooperatives but not through those now in existence under the present law."[8]

How strong are cooperatives in Greece today? In 1957, they numbered 7,127 and had a membership of 718,000.[9] They therefore constitute the principal farm organization in Greece. Those who lead the cooperative movement are quick to point out what they hope to achieve: to narrow the ratio between prices received by the farmers and prices paid by the farmers; to market members' products and purchase for them equipment and supplies; to process farm commodities, produce pesticides, farm machinery; and to provide special services for members such as plowing, cultivating, and harvesting.[10] Since many of the Greek farmers are too impoverished to raise sufficient capital on their own to finance a local cooperative, they are therefore dependent upon those cooperatives for which the government, through the Agricultural Bank, provides all the funds and over which it insists on centralized control. 474 241 [652] [471]

HOW THE VILLAGERS VIEW COOPERATIVES

What the FAO study team, the American missioners, and even the Greek government officials think about agricultural cooperatives is secondary to what the Greek peasants themselves think. Their opinions ranged all the way from those of open resentment and hostility to those of great pride in local cooperative achievements. To be told, as was mentioned in Chapter 5, that some villagers whom we wanted to see had hid upon our arrival, for they thought that we were either cooperative officials or connected with the Agricultural Bank, was an object lesson in itself. We asked one of them why he had run away. He replied: "I still owe the Bank a great deal. We have to pay 9 percent interest on what we borrow, 1 percent to the cooperative and 8 percent to the Bank. Last year I hadn't paid off my loan ($70.), so I couldn't get a new loan. I borrowed what I needed from a private individual at 20 percent and paid off this loan to the bank so that I could obtain potato seed on a new loan. Now I have sold my potatoes and the Bank will be after me to pay them what I owe." 474 652 [426]

When we asked what happened to people who did not repay their loans, we were told that in such cases the collector came out, wrangled with the people, and if he received no repayment took them to court. To such villagers, cooperatives were chiefly credit agencies and in no sense stood for a local association of farmers pooling their energies and resources to achieve joint goals.

Now and then we found peasants who were anxious to start a cooperative but considered the initiation difficult. In a village near Megalopolis in the Peloponnesos, the people were well aware of the difference between prices received in the village for watermelons and what such products cost in Athens. Like farmers everywhere, they thought the price differences unjust. They blamed bureaucratic red tape for holding up the establishment of a cooperative. Some of the more dubious went on to say: "Even if we do [435]

474 get a cooperative, we will have to wait a year to get a loan approved, and by
[652] that time we will have no need for the money." They thought that from 12
to 14 percent would be the customary interest charges set by the cooperative and the Bank and also assumed that security requirements would be very high.

[249] Peasants in the tobacco-growing areas in Northern Greece appreciated
the fact that cooperatives there tried to introduce mechanization and also,
[664] from time to time, did some lobbying in their behalf. When in 1953 we
asked the commandant of gendarmerie for Volos, who was in close touch
[124] with the villagers, about their views toward cooperatives he replied: "With
the occupation and the war the cooperative conscience more or less disappeared. Now it is reviving and if things go normally there will be quick improvement. One reason for the difficulty is the effort by the government to mix politics in with the cooperative movement. Now the cooperatives undertake no teaching function. They did this before the war, which partially explained what success they achieved. Before the war, if a person wanted to be on the council of the cooperative, he had to go through special training.
[654] The authorities say that they will do this again, but the Ministry of Agriculture is centering [illegible] teaching approach in the newly formed Agro Clubs."

He thought that in his area about 60 percent of the cooperatives were working and that 40 percent were either anemic or altogether defunct.
● [241] Around Volos the producers' and marketing cooperatives organized on a
commodity basis — vegetables, dairy, fruit, olives — worked better than the
[652] general-purpose or purely credit type. Very often, he pointed out, the relationship between the local cooperative and the representatives of the Agricultural Bank is strained, for the local council will give inaccurate information to the Bank, saying that a would-be borrower has twelve acres of land when he really has only five.

474 One of the most interesting examples of the blending of traditional and
178 modern mutual-aid practices was found in Kalivi, a village of about 2500
in Attica. This village owned some pasture land. In 1914 it formed a com-
[621] mittee which took charge of the management of this community land, deriving revenues for the community. In 1920 there was talk of organizing a cooperative, but it did not really get under way until 1926, at which time the village pasture land was turned over to the cooperative which superseded the former committee. Thus, the transition from the older social form
[652] to the cooperative went smoothly. The Agricultural Bank had helped the
local people decide what was the best kind of cooperative organization for their purposes. They decided that membership should be compulsory for all family heads. In 1928 the cooperative acquired a threshing machine with
[243] the funds obtained from the pasture land. This machine as well as newer
ones were in use when I visited the village near the middle of June 1953.
[293] Organized pandemonium seemed to reign as new loads of wheat sheaves
[751]

651 [231] [241] [435]

Although not all of these taxes apply directly to villages, some of them do. Mention has already been made of the personal work on community projects, as well as the tax on sale and purchase of cattle as evidence by the Neochori notice of bids for farming these out. In addition, there is a "head" tax ranging from twenty to fifty cents annually on each animal. A list of animals over two years of age is drawn up in March, or three months before the commune budget is due. Perhaps the most important of these revenues from the peasant point of view is the tax of 2 to 4 percent on his agricultural products, which the local government keeps. He pays this in lieu of a property tax on the land that he owns. When I explained to some of my Greek friends that property taxes were the chief source of revenue for many local governments in America, they asked if I meant agricultural land. When I answered in the affirmative, they were nonplussed and pointed out that it was much fairer to tax the products of the land than the land itself, since the products showed best of all the value of the land.

THE VILLAGE AND THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

623 631 [625 871 634]

To understand the community council, one must see its relationship with the central government.[10] It does not, for instance, undertake to maintain law and order, since the local police are not under its jurisdiction, nor does it have much to say about its local school, except through an elected school board of limited powers. Even in those affairs where it is supposed to have jurisdiction, such as drawing up its own budget or arranging for the collection of taxes, it has to gain the approval of the nomarch, who is appointed by the Minister of Interior.

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Only as I got to know some of the nomarchs did I begin to appreciate the relationship of the central to the local governments. One nomarch, Yannes Gotsis, was in charge of the nomos of Serrai in Macedonia in 1953. He seemed dedicated to his task and epitomized several of the qualities I have come to admire in many Greeks. We discussed the specifics of local government and the part that the nomarch plays, but he soon went beyond the technicalities of administration to something of its philosophy:

[828 578]

> In the majority of the Greeks there is a submerged desire to make a better future for as many people as possible. The Greek really wants a better community life, although he at times gives the impression that conflict is his basic urge. But along with his sense of community he has an appreciation for human personality, which means that if another person disagrees with him he does not try by force to get his own opinion accepted; he tries persuasion and explanation. If others continue to disagree, it is not because they fail to appreciate him but because they each have their own personality to put to the use of the community.

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13. Lunchtime in Thessaly in a day of spring plowing.

14. A girl at work at the kneading trough in the village of Malakassa, Central Greece.

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[p. 272-I]

tions to their homeland. Enough time had passed to enable many of them 178
to assess the impact of their encounter with Greek national life, for nu- 167
merous changes had followed their arrival.

Their resettlement had, in the first place, brought about a national unity 727
not heretofore possible, since Turks and Bulgarians had left Greece (with
the exception of the Turks in western Thrace who were permitted to remain [619]
because Greeks were allowed to stay in Istanbul), and the Greeks from [563]
Asia Minor were now collected in metropolitan Greece. With the exception
of Cyprus and perhaps northern Epirus, there was now little ground for
irredentism, which has so consistently plagued each of the Balkan states
since their creation as independent political units.

A second effect of the refugees' arrival was the improvement of agricul- [241]
ture, especially in Northern Greece, where the refugees chiefly settled, as
well as in Crete, where they improved the vineyards. Because they had been
uprooted, the newcomers were much more ready to adopt modern farming
methods, to use fertilizer and improved seed. They even introduced new
crops to the mainland of Greece. This readiness for change at times con-
trasted sharply with the more apathetic and conservative native villagers.

The refugees, in the third place, helped create a public health service. [744]
Many of them settled in the marshy deltas of the rivers emptying into the
Aegean Sea, where malaria — to which they had developed no immunity
in Asia Minor — wiped out whole villages. Being desperate, they cooper-
ated to the fullest with authorities who were draining the swamps and inau-
gurating malaria-control measures.

Even more important was the refugees' role in creating new industries, [288]
such as rug weaving, especially in urban centers. They brought in skills, in-
cluding entrepreneurial ability; even the untrained represented a willing [464]
labor pool. They had to rely on their wit and skill to survive in this new en-
vironment. The same held true for the fishing industry, which at best was [228]
at a primitive level in Greece before the coming of the refugees.

One nomarch, long-familiar with the refugee problem, summarized his observations as follows:

> At the time of their coming, we looked upon these refugees as a terrible burden. But they did bring a creative and civilized element. Here in Macedonia, the refugees are a progressive element: in industry, commerce, and agriculture. They are progressive because they have had so many hardships that they are like iron which has gone through fire and become more malleable. Most of the refugees think they have a better life here than they had in their former homes.

This cataclysmic event, resulting from the disastrous Asia Minor campaign by the Greeks, brought not only a large population increase; it also introduced a social transfusion which all observers agree led to a more progressive spirit in Greece.

178 they have heard. Many of these are not forced on the villagers, nor even
urged upon them, but have some appeal which causes men, women, and
young people to experiment with them. If they give satisfaction, then they
become incorporated in the general social patterns. To trace these changes
due to social drift would be a review of what has been written so far, yet
the comparison of the descriptions by adults of life in their villages when
they were young with what one observes there today indicates that over a
period of time innovations, both social and technological, reached these
villages, were adopted by the bolder individuals, and were imitated in time
178 by others. Within recent years the tempo of change in rural Greece has
been speeded up. The Bishop of Messenia, already referred to in the discus-
511 sion of religion, observed:

369

> People have now raised their standard of living well above their possibility to
> pay. They want running water in their home, city clothes, and modern furni-
> ture. They don't go into debt necessarily to obtain these things, but they have
> [454] stopped saving as they used to do. When they have money, they spend it; they
> don't save it. They have made very great strides in education. They all want a
> road right up to their village so automobiles can reach them; they all want
> electricity. The changes which would have normally taken fifty years are now
> compressed into ten.

Greece, therefore, is a good example of the rising level of expectations going on among rural people the world over. Through the "percolation" of ideas and impressions into the rural areas, many people are demanding what the city person has long taken for granted: education, a road to one's door, electricity, and running water.

178 Many factors enter into the decisions by village people to do something new. Population increase or decrease affects life in rural areas. With an increase, the father has to divide his patrimony among more children, with the result that farms get smaller, less efficient, and people approach the poverty line if offsetting measures are not found. With population loss, those who are left have to make many new adjustments.

178 A study made by two Dutch geographers, de Vooys and Piket, during
April and May 1957, of two villages in the Peloponnesos showed the con-
433 nection between population (viewed as labor supply) and social change.
464 The residents of one community, on the edge of the Argos Plain, produce
tobacco, olives, and grain, and also raise sheep. The economy is thus transi-
241 tional, between the economy of the plains and that of the mountains. After
analyzing the labor requirements of this community and weighing the gains
from introduction of modern farm technology, the geographers conclude:

> A burning question in the under-developed countries is how to *increase prosperity*. As a matter of course, enlargement of the very small holdings would be considered the solution where the agrarian sector is concerned. But even if a

> part of the peasant population could be successfully transferred elsewhere, this 178
> would merely cause a shortage of labour in the fields under the present system 433
> of exploitation. A great part of the cultivated area would remain fallow and
> only be used for grazing. . . . In the tobacco villages the problem would be 464
> the reduction of the labour peaks in the spring and summer: these require all
> the labour available and even cause a fairly extensive seasonal migration. 241
> Mechanization might bring about some decrease in the April and May peaks. The result would be that more seasonal female labour would be needed for tobacco planting. The labour peak in August is caused by the tobacco harvest and this work cannot be mechanized or simplified. If the holdings are enlarged, more female labour would have to be attracted; on the other hand, however, the production per farm unit of the cash crops tobacco and wheat . . . would be augmented, thus increasing local prosperity.[4]

In the second village studied, one located in the Megalopolis Basin, de Vooys and Piket were impressed by its remarkably deserted appearance. Many houses were unoccupied, abandoned terraces betrayed former vine growing, and bushes had grown up on formerly tilled fields. Why has this come about in a country where land is so scarce?

> The agricultural unit was originally based on two cornerstones: growing grain and keeping sheep. Self-sufficiency was remarkably developed; only the sale of surplus products — derived from the sheep — supplied a scanty money income.
> When finally a money economy penetrated here, the inhabitants reacted to it by [166]
> mass emigration: especially the younger generation moved away. At first this lightened the population pressures, but when the migration process persisted, it soon became clear that the consequences were serious. The older people eventually died and the land was left to descendants who lived elsewhere. When these heirs lived far off, either in Athens or abroad, they had little interest in such legacies. They neglected the land and permitted the other villagers to use it as common pasture.[5]

The writers conclude that only a radical change in the labor processes (mechanization and simultaneous enlargement of the holdings) and changes in the attitude of the peasants (enabling the founding of cooperative societies, together with the immigration of young families into this region, will turn this area around Megalopolis into a prosperous one. Thus we see the close connection between population shifts, economic trends, and social change.

Another factor affecting change in the village is the family head's eco- 178
nomic ability to make the changes he would like. The Greek peasants, though
numbering more than half (55 percent) of the total population, receive 434
about 45 percent of the total national income.[6] The per-capita income of [162]
the 900,000 farm families runs lower than the national average of $185 per year, a figure permitting only minimal improvements, no matter how strong the desire.

178 Closely related to a family head's economic predicament is the demand
241 for, and therefore the price of, the cash crops that he grows. The tobacco
594 farmer of Northern Greece, the peasant growing olives on Mount Pelion
near Thessaly, the apple grower in western Macedonia around Phlorina, and
the producer of currents in the northern Peloponnesos are familiar with the
[435] ups and downs of the world markets. When he shifts from wheat to cotton or
rice, the farmer makes more than an economic decision; he also determines
much about family relationships in his home. Growing wheat calls for a
very different participation of the woman than does the cultivation of rice
in irrigated fields. In the latter case, the farmer also has to submit himself
[312] to the organizational control that the use of irrigated water necessitates,
being ready to divert the stream into his own fields when his neighbor has
[476] used the allotted time for watering his fields. With his neighbors, too, he
must cooperate to keep drainage ditches clear, unless this can be turned
over to some governmental agency. Or, if a family shifts from sheep raising
[233] to settled farming, the fate of the children is apt to be different. In caring
[857] for sheep the children are an important economic asset, which keeps them
away from the house for several hours during the day and even away from
school for two or three years.

178 Social change of the drifting, unplanned sort can be observed among the
626 young people as well. On a Sunday afternoon a young man recently returned
183 from the army may go up to a young woman in the promenade on
the village square and ask if he can walk with her. This may be the first time that any young man has made this maneuver in this village. The other young people watch with almost unbelieving eyes and, if they see that no serious social consequences are visited upon the innovator, may eventually themselves get around to pairing off. Village opinion, too, may be in for a start when a father and his grown son, perhaps because they want to continue the discussion of some economic transaction in which they are involved, go to sit together in a coffeehouse where it has never been customary before for sons to sit with their fathers. Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the practice may be that sons are not even to enter the coffeehouse where the fathers go. Now and then, particularly in the past, innovators of this sort have experienced unpleasant social pressures of many kinds, which may even have stopped them from trying to change local customs. Today, there is such social ferment, such a mixing of traditional and modern roles, that much more individual variability is permitted.

178 Several times I asked Greek friends who were familiar with village life
369 whether the villager was more apt to imitate what he saw in Athens or what
he saw in a provincial town. In other words, I wondered if the changes
602 emanating from the city were mediated by the townspeople who lived nearer
the villager and in whose community the villager felt more at home. These

177 eral ways, and one of the most interesting impacts this body made upon
464 the villages was the program promoted by one of their officials, Glen Leet.
It was termed *pronoia dia tes ergassias,* often translated "welfare through
653 employment," which made it possible for villagers to work on some useful community project and be paid minimal wages for their labor. This not only brought some much-needed cash into poor areas but resulted also in actual physical accomplishments which people could see and in which they could take pride. This program, of course, was supplementary to the customary "voluntary" or unpaid labor (*prosopike ergassia*), usually ten days, which able-bodied villagers are supposed to contribute to the community upon call of the community council.[8]

177 Mention has already been made of a few efforts of the American Mission
207 to Greece — whether called Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA),
Mutual Security Administration (MSA), Foreign Operations Administra-
491 tion (FOA), or International Cooperation Administration (ICA). One of these was the attempt to set up radio receiving sets in the most isolated Greek villages so the people there would feel in touch with the outside world; another was the vast road-building program which has left its mark not only upon the Greek countryside but upon the Greek social structure as well. Physical isolation has been broken down on a scale not dreamed possible in the prewar years.

177 The American Mission is also largely responsible for the speeded-up
178 mechanization occurring in Greek agriculture in the 1950s. The same holds true for greatly expanded drainage and irrigation projects which increased the
● [241] production of cotton and rice. To credit the American Mission with these
[654] and other developments does not reflect upon Greek ingenuity and desire for progress, for all of these programs were carried out by Greeks and through Greek agencies, but the outside financial and technical assistance had to be present for any large-scale success. A sober evaluation of American aid to Greece is found in a book by that title, written by A. A. Munkman, who was chief of Audits and Surveys of the United States Economic Mission to Greece.[9] While citing the positive achievements, he also inquires into how the two billion dollars supplied could have been better used for the benefit of the Greek people. He deals none too gently with some of the administrative weaknesses and concludes pessimistically that Western influence is steadily losing ground, because the ordinary Greek peasant or worker feels that it promises far more than it fulfills. This goes back, he thinks, to the fact that public opinion is poorly informed about the mechanics of aid.

Without necessarily taking issue with Munkman's conclusion, it is important to point out that, by their very nature, programs of planned change invariably raise peasant expectations beyond the sponsors' ability to satisfy. This need not be a negative fact if the dissatisfaction can be channeled into

177 369 we done, and what are we doing in other countries? Our society is so urbanized that we have to make a real effort, use all possible clues, to understand that what we are doing abroad is to move great masses of rural people toward the type of urban life which they know little about.[1] Three considerations shed light on this general problem: how a peasant is changed into a farmer; what happens when a villager moves to the city or accepts city ways in the village; and how a subject is changed into a citizen. These considerations do not add up to a full picture of rural change, but they provide useful guides for further thought. They also demonstrate that most foreign-aid programs are inevitably agencies for social change.

FROM PEASANT TO FARMER

184 ●241 [178] In order to feed the people of the cities and to raise the living standards in the villages, the leaders of developing countries are sponsoring programs of agricultural improvement in a variety of forms. The basic purpose of these programs, when viewed in human terms, is to change the peasant into a farmer. In Greece today one finds very conservative peasants as well as those who have become farmers in the most modern meaning of the term, although most rural Greeks fall somewhere in between these extremes. To understand the effects of social change we might examine, one at a time, some of the more prominent traits of the peasant way of life and contrast these with the traits found among farmers in the more industrialized societies.[2]

184 241 511 Perhaps the most striking difference between the two types of farming is the peasant's self-subsistence as contrasted with the farmer's production for a market. In the traditional, relatively isolated peasant village, there are only a few wants which cannot be supplied locally. Because people expect little in the way of material goods, they get along with what they have, buying or bartering a few necessities (nails, salt, kerosene) from outside. The family head, however, thinks in terms of producing enough to feed his family, provide seed for harvest, and have sufficient surplus to sell for cash with which to pay taxes and buy the necessities. His choice of crops and the amount of land devoted to them are determined by family needs, not usually calculated in rational terms but by following customary practices which have seen the family through from one year to the next.

On the other hand, the modern farmer produces for the market. He may even grow very little of his food, preferring to put his energies into growing crops which can be sold at good prices. The income is used to buy a much larger volume of purchases than the peasant would ever dream of. The peasant may be price-conscious at the time he is ready to sell his few bushels of wheat or quintals of rice, but the modern farmer tries to anticipate the price as he plans the next year's production.

It follows from this that the peasant has less need for money than the commercial farmer. To be sure, the peasant does use some money, and 184 241 511 some colonial powers in the past have found that the way to persuade "natives" to grow cash crops that the authorities wanted for export was to require that taxes be paid in money rather than in kind. To get the money, the peasant had to put in some cash crop, and he eventually moved toward commercial farming. Both types of farmers periodically become involved in debt: the peasant because he wants to spend an extravagant amount on some village festival, wedding, dowry, pilgrimage, or other noneconomic expenditure, whereas the modern farmer — though he also may try to keep up with the Joneses — goes into debt to buy machinery and other capital equipment. The peasant in earlier days went to the village moneylender, whose rates were oppressively high since he as a debtor could give little collateral, but now under government auspices credit cooperatives are moving [426 474] out to the villages to provide loans to the villager on his livestock or an expected harvest. The modern farmer uses the financial institutions which are an integral part of a complex economy.

The production for a market highlights another difference. The peasant 184 241 178 is primarily oriented toward the present; the modern farmer thinks of the future. The peasant, because he has had little economic margin with which to experiment or accumulate, tries to get through one crop year at a time. He may think vaguely about the future in terms of the hopes he has for his children, but seldom in hardheaded economic terms. When he begins to put out vines, to plant olive trees, or to make capital investment connected with agricultural production, the peasant is changing into a farmer — in this one trait, at least.

Both the peasant and the farmer operate in terms of what they consider to be their own self-interest, but they differ in their conceptions of what their self-interest is. The so-called obstinacy of the peasant is not just irrational opposition to change for the sake of holding back progress; it arises from his refusal to believe that the innovation suggested is to his own self-interest. Many times the peasant shrewdness shows up when some new scientific practice fails because of the soil and weather conditions of a given area. Demonstration, rather than talk, works more effectively with the [242] peasant. The farmer, on the other hand, is more willing to take the word of the agricultural specialist, whether spoken or written, and may even do some experimenting on his own. If he is moderately successful, he has a margin for experimentation, whereas the peasant's food supply or source of the cash that he needs would be jeopardized if the innovation proved unsuccessful. Rather than fly to evils that he "knows not of," he sticks with the ways that have helped his people survive through the centuries.

This same conservatism shows up in the peasant's attitude toward his 184 423 454 land. The peasant prizes land above all else, whereas the farmer views it as a commodity to be bought and sold. Land has been the peasant's secur-

184 ity; if he has a few acres available to him he knows that he can put in a crop
423 and maintain life; without land he is helpless. That is why many peasants
will insist on buying more land when they get a sum of money. The modern
454 farmer, on the other hand, views land as only one of the factors of production. He can be quite impersonal toward particular patches of land, whereas in some countries the peasants feel closely attached to family acres handed down through two, three, or more generations. Peasant fathers, too, feel a strong sense of obligation to pass on to their children the patrimony of land intact, if possible. At times, this is even more important than providing the children with an education or a respectable dwelling. The modern farmer may feel much more security in the cash balances in the bank or in the improvements made on the land he has rather than the acquisition of more land simply for the sake of adding acreage to his estate.

178 Perhaps the most visible contrasts, as one passes from a peasant farming
belt to one of modern farms, is the presence of machinery in the latter.
241 The peasant relies on family labor to help not only with ordinary daily tasks
594 but as much as possible to meet the needs at peak periods, such as harvest
time. Any money given to outsiders who help is that much taken away
184 from the family exchequer. This means that a peasant with many children
464 is considered blessed over one with few, for the many sons especially are economic assets, though daughters help until they are married off as members of their husbands' family labor reserve. As Chapter 5 has shown, the purchase of a tractor by a Greek farm family ushers in numerous changes. Arthur Mosher, who is familiar with agriculture both in the Far East and in Latin America, points out the following consequences of shifting from family labor to machinery.[5] First, by reducing the labor requirements it frees members of the family for work in the city and may even necessitate their search for employment away from the village — a fact which introduces change into what may have been a closed family circle. Second, there is sometimes a change in status of the sons and younger men of the family who, unlike the older men, know how to operate the newly acquired machine. In peasant families, where the word of the older people, especially the father, has been law and where there is supposed to be unquestioned obedience to his directives, the emergence of a new technical "authority" in the family is bound to produce changes in the family relationships. A
178 third effect of mechanization treated by Mosher is the creation of greater
241 socioeconomic disparity between large and small farms, since mechanization is usually more economical on large farms. This tendency of the rich
184 to get richer and the poor to get poorer is sometimes offset, however, by
[474] the poorer farmers pooling their resources and setting up a small joint-ownership group, similar to some of the threshing "rings" of the American Midwest a generation or so ago. Or the small farmers may get the advantages of mechanization if the machines can be rented to them when needed,

or if plowing and other operations can be performed on contract. In any 178
event, the introduction of the type of machinery which reduces labor re- 241
quirements is apt to send people off the farm, whether from the family
acquiring the tractor or the poorer farmers who rent their land to a machine 184
owner looking for a larger area to farm. [464]

Another feature mentioned by Mosher is a further distinguishing trait
between the peasant and the farmer: namely, the greater dependence of 178
the farmer upon the town. The peasant makes occasional trips to a market 184
town, often as much for the excitement of a change as for the economic
benefits he derives. If it were necessary, he could postpone such trips al- 369
most indefinitely, particularly if there were other villagers who would buy
his surplus crop or a calf or who would purchase for him some necessities
from outside. But the man with a machine of a complex sort is dependent
upon the repair shops of the town; moreover, he has bought the machine [445]
there and is financially tied to the town. To the extent that his children
pursue a secondary education, he also develops interests in the center where
the school is located. If good roads are built, and automobiles or cheap
bus transportation become available, he may even seek recreational outlets
in the town.

As the rural people become familiar with town ways, they shift from
peasant dress to the more uniform and less colorful urban clothes. It is no [291]
longer possible to look at a Greek farmer in town and tell what village or
immediate area he is from by the characteristics of his costume; he becomes
anonymous and nondescript, indicating the beginning or even culmination
of a psychological break with peasant life. Money which would have form-
erly been spent in other ways now goes for modern goods and garments; [511]
more cash becomes necessary to maintain the changing standard of living,
and alternative sources of employment have to be found to supplement the
income from the farm.

This increased exposure to town usually carries with it heightened ex- 178
posure to various communication media. In the past, the village has been
the peasant's universe; the main currents of city or national life passed him 184
by. But as he becomes a farmer, he visits the supply store in town to hear 369
about prices, new fertilizers, new types of seeds, new insecticides. At the
same time, he hears about many other things going on in the world. With [20]
the coming of radio to his village, and the occasional newspaper, his dis-
tance from town is minimized, but learning from these sources is not quite
the same as talking to individuals in the town who claim "to be in the
know," whether as well-informed officials or individuals recently returned
from the capital city. He also brings back some reading material to ponder
over when work is slack. His former mental isolation breaks down.

Such exposure to town influences, along with whatever he learns about [665
government agricultural policies, increasingly involves the peasant in politi- 829]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

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Vasilika with Parori and Mt. Parnassos in the background.

Women hoeing.

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[p. xvii]

The Area Surrounding Vasilika

241 The inhabitants of Vasilika, as the village will henceforth be called, are
[621] farmers and shepherds. The farmers cultivate the land in the plains adjacent to
[361] the low-lying ridge on which most of the houses are built. As a consequence of
[423] the dowry and inheritance system in the region, some of the fields near Vasilika
are owned by farm families in neighboring villages, and the Vasilika farmers
own some lands in other sections of the Boeotian plain and even in the sur-
rounding foothills. By and large, however, the inhabitants cultivate lands of the
[133] quality characteristic of the Boeotian plains. These lie in East Central Greece,
north and west of the smaller plains of Attica. The flat land of Boeotia is one of
[134] Greece's few regions of moist, fertile soil. The Kiphisus river once flowed
through the whole area, but earth movements and the porous limestone of the
region, which permits underground drainage, have broken the continuity of the
river's flow. The upper stream flows through a narrow mountain-bordered valley
and then into a wide plain which was once covered by Lake Copais. The river is
silt-laden, and the underground channels through which the water escapes tend
to get blocked up. The land can not always absorb the waters of the winter
rainy season as rapidly as they accumulate. Thus an especially wet winter can
flood the fields so badly that they do not drain off in time for spring planting
[312] (Newbigin 1949:333). A system of controlling the waters exists for the land
reclaimed by draining Lake Copais. However, the cultivated fields of Vasilika
lie some miles past this region, and although the Kiphisus flows through their
fields, the farmers have no method of draining off excess water. Consequently,
they watch the winter rains with some apprehension. On the other hand, the
[134] regular winter flooding in ordinary years, along with the accumulation of allu-
vium enriched by humus, makes the soil suitable for two crops of wheat annually
and for summer crops such as cotton and tobacco (Newbigin 1949:333).

Since the growing season for these last two crops is a dry one, the cotton
241 always requires irrigation and the tobacco sometimes does. The natural under-
312 ground drainage system makes it possible to drill good wells almost anywhere
[406] in the fields, from which water may be drawn by diesel irrigation pumps. Many
such wells have been dug and are serving Vasilika's farmers. Within the village
itself there are nine wells in regular use. Only an unusually dry year brings any
danger of serious water shortage for either ordinary household purposes or for
[363] irrigation. The mulberry trees which line the main village street and the occa-
sional trees which appear here and there among the houses flourish because of
the good water table and, in spring and summer, provide a pleasing contrast of
dark green to the predominantly brown and orange tones of the village's land
and houses.

49 The people of Vasilika, like those on the other plains of Greece, not
621 only have the advantage of larger tracts of more fertile soil but also are consider-
361 ably less isolated than the inhabitants of the mountain villages. As will be seen,
182

equipment and produce on their animals or, as two families do, on tractors. 621
They are joined by farmers from neighboring villages whose fields lie adjacent 484
to Vasilika and who travel through the village to reach them. Trucks come to
pick up cotton, tobacco, wheat for the mill, and the like and, therefore, are seen 494
more frequently whenever the various crops are being harvested. In any case, 512
whenever there is movement along the entire length of the settlement, it occurs
most densely in the early morning just after dawn and in the early evening just
before sundown. As the labor of the day starts, in addition to the other traffic, 233
someone from each of the households in which sheep and goats are owned leads
the animals up the hill to the shepherds who will watch over them during the 484
day. In the evening, the sheep are brought back again, but the goats often find 512
their way home without any help. A first encounter with a lone goat coming
around the corner of a village house, as it suddenly appears in the violet light 621
of early dusk, is a startling experience. The soft light at the beginning and the
end of these days is associated with the delicate tinkle of the sheep and goat
bells as the animals move around the village. The entire ebb and flow of movement
diminishes to an irregular trickle during the Mediterranean winter months
from November to January when people stay in the village proper for most of
the day.

Vasilika's shepherds and their families also participate in the main patterns
of movement, except that the shepherds continue to go out daily through
the winter and may leave the village entirely for the summer months.

But traffic in Vasilika is rarely a mass movement. Rather, there is always 484
a range of time within which the villagers consider it feasible to carry out any
activity. Each family moves at its own pace within the range. Even during the 512
busy agricultural seasons, watching from the vantage point of a terrace facing a 241
part of the main street at the east side of the *aghora,* one sees, first, a man going 805
by in the direction of the river, leading a horse which carries a cultivator in its
saddle; for ten minutes no one goes by, then a young man passes in the same
direction; for five minutes nothing, then a woman and her grown daughter go
past in the other direction carrying hoes for work in the cotton fields. A few [492]
minutes later, two young brothers go by, one leading and the other riding a
horse sidesaddle; and so it goes until there is a longer period with virtually no
movement at all. What is more, each day, even in the same season, the people
involved in the movement will vary. The man who was first to go out one morning
may leave a half-hour later the next; a girl who did the washing at home
one day, and so did not appear at all, will be seen going out to the fields on the
following morning. Such variation in activities both as regards the time when [221]
each of the village families starts on any project, and also with respect to the
timing of activities from day to day by the members of any one household, appears
again in the seasonal shifts of activities. The first major agricultural task 245
in early spring is the pruning of the grape vines. For a period of several weeks 221
almost every man who passes by is carrying a pruning hook. But here too, families
start and end their pruning on different days. Only the comments on the
situation are uniform. Each man complains of his blistered hands and aching

parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized 593
that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*.

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually 162
carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire
household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it 592
always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters.

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers 621
who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all 592
equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, 241 ●
their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression 434
of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural 433
activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households.

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. 245
Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or [illegible] 221
stremata (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and con- 804
sumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him 273
in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have 372
abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a 252
vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as 147
fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are 461
particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually 412
takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle 462
of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machi
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the
straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

[237] The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a
[471] generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and
[407] the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing will-
ingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
● [241] questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of
[433] cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor
and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value
[242] of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. How-
ever, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and
since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire
transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
437 literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is
also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
[262] payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for
[438] fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
[231] As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally,
in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only
during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted
to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the
312 region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation
406 feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure
since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can
[249] dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
[621] not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
[427] adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when
one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up
for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
[652] British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit
extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
[427] Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays
for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

249 night. In October, the dried tobacco is pressed into bales by machines the
[221] farmers have for the purpose, and is then ready for sale.

[407] A farmer can get 720 *okadhes* of tobacco from 6 *stremata* of land, and
[433] if he succeeds in selling the entire crop at 30 drachmas an *oka*, he receives the
equivalent of $720. This is a very good income, indeed, especially when it is
[434] added to that derived from cotton.

471 Vasilika farmers are obviously in need of some capitalization to finance
what have become considerable investments necessary for producing their wheat,
●241 cotton, and tobacco. Whether or not the farmers' savings would be adequate to
454 finance their crops, the fact is that Vasilika farmers do not want to use their
652 accumulated savings to invest in their own farms. Cash drachma savings are
exchanged for gold English sovereigns or French or Italian specie, which ac-
[583] cumulations are then set aside for the dowries of the girls of the family or to
pay for the education of a son. The only notable exception to this use of savings
[556] is that the farmer who becomes wealthy enough to feel that his obligations to his
children are taken care of may buy land if the opportunity presents itself. At the same time that the farmer does not want to spend savings on the current production of his crops, he is eager for an increased cash income to secure the future of his children. Increased cash income is possible only through investment in his farm. How does he get out of the dilemma? He willingly accepts credit from
[242] the Agricultural Bank of Greece. In addition, farmers accept from the bank the
needed seed, artificial fertilizers, and chemical weed killers and insect sprays. March is the month in which the loans are made by the bank, so that the farmers always receive their money before Easter. Both the manager of the Agricultural Bank in Levadhia and we were aware of the fact that some of the money was used for Easter finery and Easter feasting. We had the impression that the farmers considered the loan as cash income to be spent as they wished. The repayments of principle and interest due in October were viewed by the farmers as something like an additional expense or tax chargeable against current income from the produce, and in this sense, not as expenditure of savings.

Miscellaneous Crops

244 Each household maintains a small kitchen garden near the cotton fields.
This location permits the farmers to irrigate and to tend to the garden at the
[462] same time they work with the cotton. Both men and women work in the gardens
to raise tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers, squash, and melons of various kinds,
but only to the extent necessary for immediate consumption by the household
[433] and its hired farm labor through the growing season. No effort is made to
produce surplus for canning or for any other kind of home processing. Besides
the summer vegetable gardens, in the early spring, the women of a few households fence off a rectangular area near the houses and plant spring onions,
[417] lettuce, spinach, and a type of lima bean called *kukya*. The wire or reed fenc-

445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old
patterns.

463 The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and
[433] shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-sufficient,
but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had
[178] to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innovations
since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have
involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new
attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the
262 already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is
of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have
438 long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been produced
178 in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these
511 items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assumption
that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a
village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care
517 of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on
356 his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late
463 fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit
in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his comments
represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field
chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic
of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the
Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations
626 from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one,
183 as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even
to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one
farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stonemason
or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with
interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire structure
collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it
a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did
they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job.
He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was
ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking instances,
farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally
try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point
here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have
skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance
of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they
are not certain to succeed.

178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter
241 have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five
433 years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

fifties remember a childhood in which wheat was the major crop, with some 178
corn, chick peas, and lentils as a supplement. Only a small amount of cotton 241
was raised. Each household owned more sheep, horses, and mules than the pres- 433
ent villagers. The animal dung fertilized the fields, some fields were permitted to
lie fallow each year, and whatever cash income there was came from the sale of
surplus wheat and small quantities of cotton, wool, and milk. The farmers all [434]
agree that one householder, working alone with occasional hired help, derives
more income from his patrimony of 35 *stremata* than his father gained from 180
stremata worked with the help of several sons.

The increased mechanization on the farms of Vasilika and the more ex- [511]
tended and intensive cultivation of cotton and tobacco have unquestionably in-
creased the cash income of the villagers. The same conditions have led to
increased indebtedness and a greater dependence on world markets.

Every household in Vasilika has accepted the new techniques and has been affected to a greater or lesser extent by the consequences. Whatever differences exist in methods of cultivation are dictated by the differences in immediate practical possibilities and necessities in each household, and there is no consistent pattern from this point of view which distinguishes one group of Vasilika households from another. From the standpoint of agricultural techniques, there is neither a progressive faction nor a conservative faction in Vasilika.

The uniformity of acceptance of change has been possible in Vasilika, I 178
believe, because all the villagers, farmers and shepherds alike, work for the same 594
goal: the enhancement of the honor and prestige of the family. One important
culturally approved means of achieving the goal is the upward mobility of family 554
members. But upward mobility rests partly, at least, on an improved material 511
standard of living. Any change which enables a village family to increase its [556]
material wealth is, therefore, welcomed after a consciously empirical assessment
of its effectiveness.

One of the methods by which a family can express its social position in Vasilika and its aspirations toward mobility is by the way it uses its income. The next chapter will discuss, therefore, some of the consumption habits of the villagers.

relatives who are, of course, automatically acquired by birth. Certainly this is a 602
real distinction between the affinals and *kumbari*, on the one hand, and consanguineals 608
on the other, but, in Vasilika at least, it is not a difference of preponderant 612
functional importance. In practice, any significant relationships established even between consanguineal kin outside of the elementary family are voluntarily arranged, and this element of the situation is more important than is the fact that the pool of blood kin from whom a man or woman can make the choice is predetermined.

Let us summarize the situation this way: A man and his elementary 474
family can normally provide all the personnel needed for the year-round functions 476
on his farm. At peak periods the farmer hires the necessary additional 602
labor. However, from time to time he may need temporary help. He may need 608
an extra horse for plowing, or he may want to join with someone to fill a truck 241
with grain for a trip to the mill or with cotton for a trip to the gin; or he may need an extra hand or two to string tobacco or to separate cotton from the pod, or he may want someone to help with irrigation, or he may wish to join with another family for the Easter feast. For both giving and receiving assistance of this kind, Vasilika's farmers seem to consider all the village's inhabitants, kin or non-kin, *kumbari* or non-*kumbari*, neighbor or non-neighbor, as almost equally suitable candidates. A farmer may choose one non-neighbor villager who has a good horse, and exchange plowing assistance with him, a next-door neighbor with whom he joins in sending grain to the mill, a village sister to help with tobacco stringing to whom he gives a bottle of wine or the like in return, and so on. Moreover, none of these arrangements is necessarily permanent; the personnel may vary from year to year and from season to season. Indeed, shifting relationships of this kind are more common than permanent ones. From our point of view, the significance lies in the fact that whether or not kin are involved, the type of association is the same.

There is one notable exception. No matter how valuable assistance might 476
be, it is not sought after if the individuals capable of rendering it belong to a 578
family with whom there is an acute, even if temporary, disagreement. For example, 602
although one of the village girls was adept at giving penicillin injections, 758
a woman from a family which was on bad terms with that of the girl preferred 608
to leave the village for a week to live with a town relative who was also capable of giving the injections. The trip was inconvenient for the ill woman's family, and since she was not fond of her relative, the visit was actually distasteful to her. But neither of these considerations was compelling enough to have her choose what in her and her family's opinion was the worse alternative—to ask assistance from a village family with whom they were currently in acrimonious rivalry. Feuding of this kind can occur among kin as well as among neighbors.

Apart from the agricultural production cycle and other predominantly 476
village-centered activities, Vasilika's farmers need help in arranging marriages, 369
in educating their children, in finding employment, in dealing with government 602
officials and with merchants to whom they sell their produce. They also want 608
some urban associations simply for prestige, and to provide a place to stay if they 574
visit towns and cities. For these extra-village purposes, a farmer is more likely 557

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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slavia and Albania come together, and a Turkish Moslem minority in Thrace. Official figures on the size of these minorities have not been published, but in all probability neither much exceeds 60,000 persons. 563

Greece is a small country, with a total area of slightly more than 50,000 square miles, or just about the size of the state of Illinois. It is also a poor country, lacking in any very important natural resources, short of fuel, but blessed with a magnificent climate similar to that of southern California. The country is very mountainous. Patches of fertile land, none of them very large, are separated from each other by tangles of barren hill and mountain. The main crops are wheat, grapes, olives, cotton and tobacco; and of these tobacco is by all odds the most important for foreign trade, since all the wheat and nearly all the cotton, wine and olive oil are consumed within the country, leaving only a surplus of tobacco, currants and a few other specialized agricultural products for export. 433 13 433 [439] [241]

Industry is comparatively weak. Greek industrial exports have seldom been able to compete in price or quality on world markets. The Greek merchant marine, on the other hand, is one of the important fleets of the world; but many Greek-owned ships are not registered in Greece, and many of the most successful Greek shipowners do not live in the country of their birth. The reason is that Greek taxes on ships and shipowners are heavier than those levied by some other countries, and the shipowners therefore find it expedient to register their ships and take their profits elsewhere. They do, however, often recruit their crews in the home country, and thus offer a source of employment to several thousand Greeks. [505] [651] [464 505]

Greece fought on the Allied side in both the first and second world wars, suffered German and Italian occupation between 1941 and 1944, and became a special British "sphere of influence" in political and military matters during 1944–46. Since 648

648 1946, United States influence has replaced British, and in 1951 Greece was admitted to the NATO alliance along with her neighbor, Turkey. Greece thus belongs to the free world, yet her geographical position, along one margin of the Communist heartland of eastern Europe, creates a constant threat to the nation's security.

648 433 Ever since the second world war the Greeks have therefore had to wrestle simultaneously with the problems of poverty and of political insecurity. Both were old problems in Greek history, but the scale was new – so much so that Greek resources were by themselves quite inadequate to meet the difficulties that loomed large after 1945. Only the delivery of substantial amounts of foreign, and especially of American, aid prevented political collapse and Communist revolution in the years just after the war.

114 This book will try to describe the successes and failures in this struggle, and make an estimate of the prospects for ultimate success in relieving poverty and improving social stability in Greece. Before launching on an account of what has been achieved, however, something should be said about the character of Greek society, with special attention to the points of difference that divide us in the United States from the Greeks.

Life in the Villages

● 241 The fundamental fact about Greece today is that in spite of
433 the rather rapid growth of towns and cities in recent decades,
[369] the country still remains predominantly agrarian. In 1950, ac-
[162] cording to a special agricultural census, rural families comprised 4,770,783 persons, or 63 per cent of the estimated total
[434] population of the country in that year. Some of these families
[464] supplemented their agricultural income by seasonal employ-
[463] ment in towns or on roads or other public works, and should, perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers.

[Village Life]

perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers. Indeed, when one 241
realizes that according to this same census the average family 433
farm contained only a little more than 8 acres, and the amount 463
of productive land per head of the rural population totaled just [423]
1.75 acres, it is obvious that there are very few full-time farmers
in Greece, if the term is taken to mean persons who busy
themselves on the land throughout the year.

Except for a few weeks, when especially intensive work of 461
cultivation or harvesting must be done, Greek peasant farmers 517
enjoy a great deal of leisure, and spend it, characteristically, sitting 275
in the village *cafeneion,* or coffee house, talking, playing
backgammon, or just watching the passing scene. A casual observer
might mistake such idleness for laziness; yet when tangible
gain is to be won by working hard, Greek peasants do not
spare themselves. But in practically every village there are far
more hands than are needed to do the work of the fields; and
when the needful work has been done, sitting in a coffee house
is more entertaining than sitting at home. There a man may [521]
hear the latest gossip of the village, read the Athens newspapers,
talk politics, and watch the shadows shift across the
village square as the day progresses.

The women, on the other hand, lead a much harder life. 517
Household tasks and the care of children take up most of the 562
hours of the day; and in the seasons when field work is heavy, [462]
women work side by side with the men. For a woman to sit in
a coffee house would be the grossest breach of etiquette, something [275]
quite unthinkable. The village water fountain may serve [576]
as a place for daily gossip; but it is the church which really provides [521]
the village women with a meeting place where they may
on a Sunday morning, after (or even during) the service, talk [794]
and enjoy a few minutes of leisure each week. By a curious and
unspoken law, the men of the villages usually do not attend
church, save on feast days and other special occasions. Thus

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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517

562 they avoid infringing on the women's meeting place, though not as rigorously as the women avoid the men's coffee house.

184 361 433 438 Nearly all villages conform to these customs, and much else unites them in a common pattern of life. Yet there is a very important distinction to be made between hill villages and villages of the plains. The distinction is not simply one of altitude. Hill villages, by and large, are located in areas so barren that the population cannot raise enough food for its own consumption, whereas plains villages, as would be expected, normally produce a food surplus for sale.

361 241 433 The traveler in Greece, especially if he leaves the main roads behind and explores some of the rough byways of the land, will frequently be surprised to find quite large villages perched in the most improbable places, hiding in some mountain cleft far from any substantial area of cultivable land. Equally surprising is the fact that in some of the broadest and most fertile plains, like that of Thessaly for instance, villages are rather widely separated. Places can be found where cultivated fields extend in all directions yet no house or village can be seen. In such localities, the fields are often tilled by peasants who live miles away in a village nestling in foothills near the margin of the plain.

361 433 The reason for this anomalous distribution of population is largely historical. In Turkish times, if not before, life in the plains was difficult and dangerous. Soldiers and officials, as they passed to and fro, lived off the local inhabitants. Tax and rent collectors, too, were more attentive to the plains dwellers, whose fields might be expected to produce more wealth for the collector to seize upon. These plagues were less serious in the back country, away from the main lines of communication. As a result, humble villagers found it safer to live in the hills, leaving the plains comparatively empty. [464] [166] But there was little food to be found in the uplands, and the Turkish landowners of the plains often needed extra hands to help cultivate their broad acres.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 x178 [669] penetrated so far into the heart of the Thessalian plain, the villagers saw nothing of them at first hand. Life went on smoothly, and the market for wheat was good. In general, then, the tenor of life in Lofiscos is a thoroughly conservative one. In 1920 the villagers attained their hearts' desire – possession of the land; and since then nothing has happened to make them wish to change the way they live.

x178 ● 241 433 The general conservatism of the village is reflected in the caution with which the farmers have taken up new techniques and ideas. There was no pressing economic necessity to impel them to experiment. Familiar methods and crops did well enough. Yet there are at present real signs of technical change.
[652] In 1952 fertilizer came in for the first time. Up till then no one in the village had used it. In that year, a representative of the Agricultural Bank visited the village, and urged the farmers to
[243] buy fertilizer on credit. A few of them made the experiment; the results they achieved convinced all the rest, for with fertilizer the wheat crop was nearly twice what had been usual before. Every farmer is now using fertilizer, and the net production of the fields is rising accordingly.

[652] [406] [312] Then in 1956 a single farmer, more venturesome than his fellows, contracted a five-year loan with the Agricultural Bank in order to install a well and pump with which to irrigate four acres. This represented a far greater departure from custom than the use of fertilizer. Wheat does not need irrigation in Thessaly, and to repay the cost of the well and pump new crops
[248] had to be introduced. Cotton was the answer, and the results in 1956, when I visited the village, were already so promising that several other farmers were planning to install a well-pump irrigation system in their fields, and grow cotton the next year. By doing so they can multiply their cash yield per acre several times as compared to the traditional income from wheat farming. This prospect is all the farmers need to persuade them to go ahead.

Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

While I did not come to know the village well enough to be 178x
sure, my impression was that the decisive break-through in 1952 652
was not a matter of new knowledge or information so much as 241
a change in financial attitudes. That is to say, before 1952 the peasants of Lofiscos looked upon indebtedness with horror. Anyone who went to a bank and of his own free will incurred a debt was, they felt, courting disaster. This was not far from the case in the 1920's and early 1930's when agricultural prices were uncertain, bank interest high, and foreclosure a possibility. In 1956 bank interest was still high – between 7 and 8 per [453]
cent for loans to individual farmers – but the price of wheat
was fixed ahead of time by the government, and the price of [435]
fertilizer had been lowered by government subsidy. As a result, [654]
a simple computation could assure the borrower of what he stood to gain. This was what the farmers of Lofiscos learned in 1952. They allowed the Bank's representative to convince them that there were times and circumstances when borrowing was not the first step to perdition, but a sure (or nearly sure) way to greater income.

Farming in Lofiscos has always, for as long as men can recall, 433
been mainly directed at market sale. Wheat from the village 511
has gone to Volos or Larissa year after year, and, since 454
1920 at least, the peasants have been able to buy town products 556
as they wanted them. But in general they have preferred hoarding 178x
to spending. In Turkish times, to build a comfortable new
house or to dress elaborately would simply have attracted the [438]
attention of some hungry tax or rent collector; hence there was a strong motive for concealing behind an unpretentious, indeed poor-seeming, exterior any wealth that might accumulate. This attitude apparently survived under Greek administration, even after the peasants of the village ceased to owe rents to a landlord and secured the whole harvest as their own. It still lingers: hence the shabby appearance of the village and its inhabitants.

If the first important break with old traditional patterns of 178x
241
433

Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

x178 life in Lofiscos dates only from 1952, it cannot be surprising to
241 find that as yet little has altered outwardly. But since the vil-
433 lage has been attuned to a market economy for generations, and since changes that increase income without involving more than the normal risks of farming meet with little resistance in the village, it seems entirely probable that in the future more and more substantial changes will come to Lofiscos. In 1956 there was still much that could be done to increase the intensity of
[312] farming and to enlarge the cash income of the farmers. Well irrigation is easy, because the water table lies close to the surface; and with such irrigation, a wide variety of hitherto untried crops will become possible: vegetables, fruit, fodder, in addition to cotton. The basis for a highly productive and diversified farming may thus appear in a relatively short period of time. Moreover, it would not be difficult or very expensive to build drainage works in the portion of the village lands that flood each spring, thus bringing some or all of that land into cultivation.

Two obstacles stand in the path of any such program of development in Lofiscos. One is the general inertia and conservatism of the farmers, who will have to learn a good deal about new crops and farming methods, and may also find themselves working a good deal more steadily through the year than was necessary when nearly all their land was still in wheat. Yet the means and incentive to overcome this difficulty both seemed to be present in 1956. Agricultural extension agents and the Agricultural Bank stand ready to give expert advice and instruction; and some of the farmers of Losfiscos have shown an eagerness to enrich themselves thereby.

The second problem is more complicated. If the farmers begin to exploit the possibilities of their land more fully, the village will very soon find itself short of labor, for the existing inhabitants are too few to attend to all the chores of high farming

Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

on so much land. Purchase of machinery, like that used on American farms, would be one way to solve this difficulty; hiring labor from outside the village would be another, and more probable, course. It is conceivable, however, that the villagers of Lofiscos may hesitate about bringing in strangers to work for them. There is a considerable feeling of clannishness among the villagers, a clannishness perhaps reflecting their knowledge that they are far, far better off than the great majority of their fellows, and a desire to keep what they know to be a good thing strictly to themselves. It will not be surprising if, a few years from now, reluctance to hire outside labor begins to hold back the development of more intensive farming in Lofiscos. But if and when the farmers do begin to offer jobs to poor men from the hills, some of the communities that have hitherto seen little benefit from the rising prosperity of villages like Lofiscos will begin to share at least a little in the economic advance of the plains. 178x 241 ● 433 [609 621]

All these possibilities lie in the future. In 1956 the village was supplying all its own labor and was just beginning to alter traditional ways. Few villages in Greece are so comfortably situated, and fewer still have such possibilities for further enrichment.

NEA ELEFTHEROHORI

Nea Eleftherohori lies at the foot of Mount Olympus, facing the Thermaic Gulf, about twenty miles north of Katerini, the local market center and regional metropolis. The name means New Free Village, and is a reminder of the fact that there is an older "Free Village" perched high on the slopes of Olympus. In Turkish times, which lasted in this region until 1912, the men of the older Eleftherohori engaged in a little farming but for the most part depended for their living on the sale of firewood and on summer work as carpenters. 361 621 [434]

Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

423 combined into one holding. The great majority of the families
425 of the village, however, still occupied 27 or 32 stremmata in
1956, and most of the original holders of the allotments were still alive.

x 178 The land settlement in Nea Eleftherohori differed from that
621 in Lofiscos in two respects. First, the farms in Nea Eleftherohori
were less than one fifth as large as in Lofiscos. Second, the new
● 241 settlers, uprooted from their former homes, whether up the
433 mountain or in distant Asia Minor, left binding customary ways of life behind them, and started off in Nea Eleftherohori without the automatic conservatism and suspicion of innovation typical until very recently of the families of Lofiscos. These differences acted together to make the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori a good deal more willing to try new crops and methods, even before the war, than those in the older Thessalian community. Life on so little land was difficult at best, and anything that promised to bring in a little more seemed worth trying; and when the problems of farming the land were new in any event, there was far less psychological resistance against trying some further innovation.

621 Another contrast with Lofiscos, a contrast perhaps related
163 to the general shake-up of old customary routines which came
to the inhabitants of Nea Eleftherohori between 1912 and 1923,
433 is that the new settlers proceeded to procreate children at a far greater rate than occurs in Lofiscos, where families are mostly quite small.[2]

[2] It would be very interesting to know why the prosperous peasants of Lofiscos have fewer children than their much poorer fellows in Nea Eleftherohori, but I do not know Lofiscos well enough to hazard an opinion. Can it be that the general market orientation of their agriculture and the habit of calculating in monetary terms leads them to restrict the number of their children deliberately, in some fashion or other, realizing that to divide the family farm among many children spells impoverishment for

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

ers of the village since a son of one of them had been caught 621
and killed in a guerrilla ambush near the village during the war, 669
inaugurated a new era in Nea Eleftherohori. Everyone felt relieved 578
that old feuds were not to be pursued, and made haste to forget the quarrels that had so long divided the village.

More important, or at least more promising for the long run, 178x
was that after 1950 the villagers began to see some hope of a 873
solution to their long-range difficulties. This hope was based on two innovations. They began to send nearly all their younger sons to secondary school, hoping thereby to qualify them for [241] ●
jobs in town, away from the land. And they began to intensify [434]
their farming and to increase their cash income by raising market crops on a far greater scale than before.

The path to higher education was greatly facilitated by the proximity of a gymnasium (i.e., a "classical" high school), located in a large village about ten miles away. A bus service was [494]
instituted between Nea Eleftherohori and the school, enabling boys from the village to attend classes and still live at home. Since there were no tuition fees, secondary school education be- [511]
came comparatively cheap; though even so, the cost of books and other supplies was, for many families, a serious matter. By 1956 no fewer than thirty-six boys from Nea Eleftherohori were attending the gymnasium. This number included almost every boy of appropriate age who had an elder brother, that is, almost every boy who would not inherit a farm. Roughly one third of all the families of the village had a boy in the gymnasium.

Since 1950, a number of changes in farming methods have 178x
also occurred. The first was the use of fertilizer. A few farmers 241
had experimented with it before the war, but it cost so much 433
that they found that in a year of bad or only middling weather they could not make enough on the extra yield of their fields to pay off the debt incurred to buy it. Hence use of fertilizer was abandoned, to be resumed only in 1950. By 1956 "everybody"

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

By 1956 "everybody"

x178 was using fertilizer, and yields of wheat (the principal crop
●241 for which fertilizer was needed) had increased to between 125
433 and 180 okes per stremma, as against the former range of 60
[243] to 80, depending of course on weather and variations in the
quality of the land.

Even before the war, the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori had
shown themselves willing to try new crops. Thus in 1947 there
were modest acreages in legumes, cotton and tobacco as well as
x178 some vegetables. Only tobacco did well, since there was no
249 irrigation; but government regulations forbade extension of to-
bacco acreage, in order to maintain prices. By 1956 this restric-
433 tion had been removed for the district in which Nea Elefthero-
[656] hori is situated, and the farmers promptly began to increase
[435] their tobacco planting. In 1947 there had been a total of 52
stremmata in tobacco; in 1955 there were 480, and in 1956 no
less than 898. Tobacco has in fact become the main labor-con-
suming crop, and it has also become the all-important cash crop
[434] for the village. Money income has multiplied several times over
with the spread of tobacco cultivation, for earlier, when wheat,
[241] raised without benefit of fertilizer, was the main crop, there
was often very little left to sell after the families had supplied
their own food needs.

x178 A second major departure occurred in 1956. With the help
241 of a bank loan, the village planted an olive grove on 900 strem-
464 mata of rough pasture. It will take ten years for the new trees
to come into full production; but when they do, Nea Elefthero-
[245] hori will have a new and valuable crop, with the special virtue
[452] of requiring labor at a season of the year when other agricul-
tural operations are more or less at a standstill. By combining grain farming (requiring labor in the early fall for planting and in the late spring for the harvest) with tobacco raising (requiring intensive labor in the early spring and for about two months in the late summer when the leaves must be picked daily and

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1

Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

strung up to dry) and olives (harvested in the late fall and the early winter), the village will be able to distribute its labor over nearly the entire round of the year, and minimize the long seasonal idleness which was characteristic of its older grain-centered type of agriculture. 178x 241 [464]

Another way of describing what has happened in Nea Eleftherohori is to say that during the past five or six years commercial agriculture has largely supplanted a primarily subsistence type of agriculture. Related to this development is a very great change in the appearance of the village and of its inhabitants. Increased money income, deriving from tobacco, has been spent, in part, for city-type clothes, which every self-respecting villager has by now acquired. In part, too, money has been used to fix up the houses, which now appear very clean and tidy. Almost all have been freshly painted or whitewashed, and several families have fenced in tidy yards where a vine trellis gives shade from the sun. On the surface, Nea Eleftherohori appears far more prosperous than Lofiscos. Apparently, a fairly high level of housekeeping has become standard in Nea Eleftherohori, and a great effort is made by almost everyone to present a good front to the neighbors. [433] 178x 511 356 [291] [351]

The refugees from Asia Minor constitute a partial exception to this rule. Their houses are somewhat shabbier, their dress perceptibly poorer. The old settlers look down upon them as careless farmers and poor housekeepers. The differences are not really great, but the desire to keep ahead of the refugees has probably acted as an important spur to laggard or lazy members of the old settler group, forcing them to improve their homes and to dress better than they might otherwise have done. [563]

Indeed, if I understood the spirit of the village correctly, the desire to maintain a status and keep a respectable front to the world has become the overriding aim of the whole community. One very important consequence is the postponement of mar- 178x 511 582

[Villages of the Plains]

may expect to maintain or modestly increase the standard of 178x
living they have enjoyed hitherto, it is likely that discontent 621
will remain personal and private. As yet, hard work, saving and 669
waiting seem to promise a solution; and with such hope present 433
discontents seem bearable. But if some day the hopes turn out
to have been in vain, then one may expect to see an active
movement of political dissent and revolt appear in Nea Eleftherohori once more.

As compared with Lofiscos, therefore, Nea Eleftherohori is 178x
a good deal farther along the path toward a new social and psychological 621
adjustment of village life. The less spacious economic 433
base from which Nea Eleftherohori started compelled 369
an earlier and more energetic adoption of new agricultural techniques; 241
the old-fashioned frame in which the peasant family
and community flourished from time immemorial has largely
been transformed or discarded; and city standards have come
in, not so much in fact as in aspiration.

PALEO CORINTHOS

Paleo Corinthos, or Old Corinth, stands on the site of the ancient 621
city, on the isthmus between the Corinthian and Saronic [361
gulfs. The imposing mass of Acrocorinth, crowned by extensive 172]
and well-preserved Venetian fortifications, dominates the village,
whereas the ruins from classical times are comparatively
inconspicuous. The modern town of Corinth lies on the shore
some five miles off, and has taken over the commercial functions
once centered in the ancient city. Until very recently, Old
Corinth remained the mere village it had been in Turkish times.

It is, however, a much larger village than either Lofiscos or [162]
Nea Eleftherohori. Its population was officially reckoned to be
1,530 in 1947; by 1956 the figure had grown to 1,850. This
growth was only partly due to natural increase, for the village [166]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Paleo Corinthos.

[Villages of the Plains]

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166 had acquired sixty "heads of family," mostly migrants from hill villages in the neighborhood, during the years between 1950 and 1956. Some of these immigrants brought families with them, others married into the village, but exact figures of the number of persons who have moved into the village are not available.

Nevertheless, Old Corinth definitely exhibits the pattern of internal migration which may in time allow the hillsmen of Greece to share in the rising prosperity of the villages of the plains, for migration into the community from the hills has been in part offset by another current of migration from Old Corinth into larger urban centers – either to nearby New Corinth or to Athens, some seventy miles off. Thirty-five to forty persons moved away to these centers between 1947 and 1956, according to the village president.

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439 The reason for this mobility is that Old Corinth has become prosperous as never before. For centuries the agriculture of the community has centered upon currants; and since the seventeenth century the major market for this crop has been in England. Commercial agriculture is therefore no novelty, but the prosperity of the village has long been heavily at the mercy of the English market, and, more recently, access to this market has depended largely upon the Australian currant crop. To cultivate, pick, dry and sort currants is a labor-consuming task; and the Australian labor shortage in the postwar years proved a remarkable blessing for Corinth. Since 1954, when devaluation of the drachma cleared the way for export, currant prices have been good. [436]

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178 This is only a small part of Corinth's good fortune. Owing largely to unusually wise and energetic leadership on the part of the village president, who has enjoyed a unique standing in the community, the two cooperatives which were organized before the war and were bankrupted during it were re-established by 1952.

[Villages of the Plains]

lished by 1952. Through their instrumentality a series of im- 241 ●
portant changes have come to the agriculture of the village. 474
Fertilizer, bought through the cooperatives, has played its usual 433
role in increasing wheat yields. In addition, a new variety of 178x
wheat has been introduced by the agricultural extension agent;
this has still further increased the harvest, so that in 1956 the [242]
farmers counted on between 200 and 300 okes of wheat per
stremma, compared with their prewar expectation of 80 to 100.
The co-ops also have been able to buy two tractors and two [407]
harvesting machines that cultivate all the crop land of the com-
munity. These machines are hired out to neighboring villages [427]
when not needed in Old Corinth, and bring in a fair sum of
money.

The most significant step, however, has been the drilling of 178x
irrigation wells. Irrigation began on a modest scale before the 312
war, but in 1947 fuel for the pumping engines was hard to 241
come by and many of the thirty wells the village then possessed
were not used fully. By 1956 the number of wells and pumps 406
had increased to 163, and all were in full use. Most of the suit- 433
able land in the village has come under irrigation. On this land, [438]
the villagers raise garden vegetables, especially tomatoes, and
despatch them daily to the Athens market by truck. The result, [434]
in terms of money income, is spectacular. I was assured that a
farm now yields ten times the income it supplied before the
war.

Old Corinth has also benefited from the revival of tourism. 178x
In 1955, some 72,000 tourists visited the archaeological museum [457]
and the ruins on the outskirts of the village; and most of these [265]
visitors left at least some small change behind them in one of
the coffee houses or in the new tourist restaurant which the [346]
government constructed in 1955. Moreover, Old Corinth lies
near the new electric power line. Electricity came to the village [365]
for the first time in 1956. Of all the changes benefiting them in

[Villages of the Plains]

*178
365 recent years, this was the one the villagers most praised, per-
haps because it was the newest.

423 Very considerable inequalities in landholding exist within
the village. As a result, some families have profited far more
than others from the new prosperity. Since the Greek War of
Independence (1821–30), if not before, landholdings in Old
Corinth have not been disturbed by wholesale government ac-
tion, of the sort characteristic in the northern part of the coun-
[425] try. The processes of inheritance and marriage settlements,
supplemented by purchase and sale of land – something almost
unheard of in the northern villages – have resulted in the es-
tablishment of extremely complicated property relationships.
[427] Renting and sharecropping are both common. In addition,
many fields are subject to concurrent rights held by several
423 individuals. This situation arises when heirs have refrained
428 from subdividing an inheritance because such division would
476 reduce the fields to absurdly small dimensions. Instead it has
long been the custom to cultivate such fields as a unit and to
divide the proceeds, according to some agreed proportion,
among all those who have a claim thereto. Over the generations,
such concurrent rights have sometimes ramified widely; but the
complications of remote family and property relationships are
something Greek peasant farmers are able to keep very clear
in their heads, with or without written documents.

241 A substantial proportion of the inhabitants of Old Corinth
464 possess no land at all. They make a living by working for others,
465 either for day wages or on a sharecropping basis. With the in-
troduction of tomatoes and other vegetable crops, together with
[427] the revival of the currant market, a definite, though seasonal,
shortage of labor has appeared. Substantial farmers (that is,
men owning 10 to 20 acres of land) complained of not being
able to find enough hands to help them cultivate their fields,
even though the wages they paid in the currant fields were

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

higher than wages for unskilled labor in Athens. It is these wage 241
rates, of course, that have attracted new settlers from the hills; 464
but the fact that such labor is seasonal, lasting for only about 465
four months in the year, means that families depending entirely
on wage work are often in very hard straits.

The unparalleled prosperity that the years since 1953 have 178x
brought to the farmers of Corinth has been accompanied by 463
the development of a number of nonagricultural occupations
within the village. Several new stores and two new coffee [366
houses have come into existence as well as the fancy restaurant 485]
for tourists. A number of persons also make a living as tourist
guides. The richest men in the village, however, are merchants [438
who have organized the delivery of tomatoes and other vegetables]
to the Athens market; they employ truck drivers, not all [494
of whom live in the village. The two cooperatives employ, between 474
them, a full-time, professionally trained secretary. The]
museum has a small staff of caretakers and curators. The village [871]
school had 210 pupils in 1956 and employed three teachers.
A priest officiates in a handsome new church, which the
villagers have built out of their own resources. Old Corinth, in 621
other words, is developing into a small town, and ceasing to be 178x
a mere village. If the plan, only talked about in 1956, for establishing
a small canning factory to preserve tomatoes is ever
realized, the transition to a town status will become definite.

Nevertheless, from one point of view, the community has so
far remained thoroughly traditional in its social organization.
The substantial farmers of Old Corinth continue to adhere to
age-old patterns of family life. When it comes time for their [583
children to marry, the daughters are dowered, partly with 428]
money and partly with a share of crop land, vineyard and olive
grove; and sons, similarly, inherit their portion of the parental
farm. Clearly, if there are more than two children – and this is
almost universally the case – the new generation will have to

Kotta

[Hill Villages]

727 example. I even saw two fine Swiss watches on the wrists of
621 young men dressed in homespun.

[571] In the immediate postwar period, Kotta benefited somewhat
from government help. The villagers were given glass to repair
[657] the windows of their houses, and some lumber for doors and
window frames, so that their houses are in better repair today
[491] than in 1947. In 1954 a stout stone bridge was built across the
stream with government funds, and the villagers made a rude
road to connect Kotta with the outside world. Vehicles can
therefore come into the village, though few come, since the villagers have little need of anything from beyond their own small
valley.

● [241] Their agriculture is much the same as before, with corn almost the sole crop. The village flock of sheep is slowly grow-
[233] ing back to prewar proportions, thanks in part to the government's having given each family four sheep as a start. The
[492] village also has a few cattle — another government gift — which
not only yield milk but are harnessed to the plows as well. All
this represents a return to familiar patterns.

x 178 The only agricultural innovation that has so far come to Kotta
241 is the experimental sowing of alfalfa on one of the good acres
233 of bottom land. This measure was recommended to the village
by a government extension agent in the hope of remedying one
[242] of the crying weaknesses of its traditional economy — the lack
of winter fodder for animals. Leaves cut from trees and dried cornstalks have been normal winter fare for cattle and sheep; and since the village stands more than two thousand feet above sea level, the winter is both long and severe. As a result the animals emerge thin and weak from the winter months. Yet the villagers are not altogether convinced that the new crop is worth while. Alfalfa was planted for the first time in 1955, and while it did help to feed the cattle, the new crop occupied one of the best pieces of bottom land the village possesses, where

Kotta

[Hill Villages]

corn for human food grows better than in almost any other spot. 178^x
To replace human with animal food on such land is a considerable 241
sacrifice – too much of a sacrifice if the population of the 233
village should once again begin to grow.

As things are today, the villagers lead a very leisurely life. 669
Work in the fields takes at most three months of the year. There 621
is no need of outside work, and no one attempts to find it. For [241]
nine months of the year, consequently, the men have plenty of [517]
time on their hands. They use it in sitting around the village and talking. Their talk is easy and friendly. Men who fought on opposite sides in the guerrilla war could joke about it without any trace of bitterness. As a matter of fact, many of the survivors had fought on both sides, first with the guerrillas and then with the Greek army. Those who stayed with the guerrillas were killed, or else disappeared into Albania. Except for the loss of their children, there seems no inclination to blame the guerrillas for what happened; nor is there any perceptible hostility against the Greek government. The general feeling about the war is that it was all an absurd nightmare in which the villagers themselves were no more than victims, rather than
participants. As Slavs, the villagers cannot easily share Greek [619]
nationalism, and Communist ideas and ideals seem to have left no impression upon them. Presumably, the few who took those ideas seriously departed with the retreating guerrilla army. For those who remain, the vision of Sydney or Toronto means far more than any ideological paradise.

One of the most surprising changes in Kotta is the prevalence 621
of Greek as the normal and natural speech, for communication 178^x
among the villagers themselves as well as with strangers. "We 197
are all Greek now," one of the young men said, and explained
that both in the guerrilla and in the regular army, the language [669]
and sentiment had been Greek. Only the old people of the vil- [191]
lage speak Slav any more, he said. Even more to the point, the [619]

Cherasia

[Hill Villages] 314

233

led to this change. One was the rise of Volos as an important 178^{x}
urban center, requiring charcoal as fuel for cooking and for 433
heating houses. To supply the rising demand, the villagers of [438]
Cherasia began cutting off the forests of Mount Pelion with a
new energy. A second factor was the growth of population in
Cherasia itself. As more families appeared, sheep could not support
them all, because the pastures could not be readily extended.
So the people fell back on exploitation of the forests.

This "ancient" history is mostly speculation. I was not able
to get any clear account of their distant past from the men of
the village. What they did know was that in 1905 three families [423]
had secured title to 100 stremmata (25 acres) of land apiece in
the little valley that spreads out below the site of their winter
quarters at the foot of the mountain. At that time, very likely, [241]
the free villagers of the mountain saw little or no attraction in
the toilsome life of a farmer, and preferred to keep to their ancient
shepherd's way of life, supplemented by woodcutting and
charcoal burning.

About the time of the first world war, things changed. As the 178^{x}
population continued to grow, sheep and charcoal no longer 433
sufficed to provide a satisfactory living for the members of the 241
community. Many of them began to clear little patches of rocky 423
mountainside in the hope of raising a crop or two on the land.
Their tenure was legally recognized by a governmental survey [314]
made in 1922, which assigned to each family title to the patches
its members had cleared and cultivated in preceding years.
During the interwar period the pressure to find supplementary
means of livelihood through agriculture continued to mount.
In 1938, village authorities parceled out 500 stremmata of what
had been common pasture to private family ownership. No further
property changes had occurred in the village up to 1956.

The brute fact remains, however, that fields cleared from
mountain slopes are miserable agricultural land. These produce

Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

x 178 a crop of only about 30 okes of wheat per stremma (a little more
433 than 4 bushels per acre), and are capable of doing that only for
• 241 two or three years, after which time the field has to be abandoned for a while until its dubious fertility has been restored.
423 The president of the village told me that he allows the villagers
to clear land wherever they can find anything that seems worth
clearing, even though this goes beyond the letter of the law and
encroaches on what is properly common pasture.

x 178 The desperate effort to find more cultivable land throughout
313 the interwar, wartime and postwar years reflects the growing
314 exhaustion of the forests, upon which the majority of the village
433 population have come to depend. The villagers have cut off the
trees farther and farther up the mountain, until only a little
scrub oak remains; and even this is so thin that a man has to
work hard and long to collect enough wood to make a charcoal
[438] burning. Since World War II, indeed, it has become more usual
to sell the wood in its raw form, even though this multiplies
transport problems, and means far less money per donkey-load
delivered to Volos.

x 178 Within the village itself bitter feelings began to rise during
241 the interwar period. The three families that had turned to agriculture in 1905, thus securing possession of the only decent
423 agricultural land in the whole village, were able to keep their
565 farms together. In 1956, one of the three families had removed
578 entirely to Volos, and was renting out its land on a sharecropping basis to poorer families in the village. The other two "rich"
427 families (who by any standard other than that of Cherasia were
still poor) were each represented in the village by a single
household, presumably because other descendants of the original owners had left for town. The result was a striking economic
contrast between the poor woodcutters, whose painfully cleared
hillside patches were scarcely worth the labor of cultivation,
and the "rich" families. Indeed, the members of the two village

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

178x

households owning 100 stremmata each did not find it necessary 241 ●
to work the land themselves. Like the absentee in Volos, they 423
also rented their fields on a sharecropping basis to the others. 565
The president of the village in 1956 was the head of one of 578
these households; he had let the nail of his little finger on one
hand grow in order to prove to everyone that he was exempt 427
from manual labor. He was also the only fat man I saw in the [302]
village. [142]

The bad feeling in Cherasia was not simply a matter of eco- 178x
nomics, however. Shepherds have had a proud tradition in 233
Greece. Heavy manual labor is beneath them, and they have al- 241
ways felt themselves superior to the grubbing farmers of the
plains. Moreover, a tradition of violence has always lain near 433
the surface among shepherds. In days not so very far past, it was 565
part of the shepherd's job to protect his flock from wolves. Even 578
today a few wolves are said to survive in remote parts of [579]
Greece; and whenever public order breaks down, far more dan-
gerous two-footed wolves, armed with guns, quickly appear. [461]
The transition from shepherd to bandit has always been easy.
A shepherd losing his flock must almost automatically become a
two-footed wolf himself, preying on other shepherds or, better
yet, on the fat, stolid landlords and peasants of the plain.

In view of these traditions, one can better understand the [461]
spirit of Cherasia. Free shepherds, traditionally ready for vio-
lence, were being ground down to a status beneath that of the
weaklings who in 1905 had preferred the indignity of labor to
the leisure of mountain pastures; and to the people of Cherasia
this seemed a clear reversal of the proper social order. They
were most unwilling to accept such a reversal. They were not
farmers, and did not wish to become farmers. As a result, they
did not do all they might have done to make their hillside agri-
culture rewarding. Field labor was, for them, a regrettable
necessity, not a satisfying way of life. They made no effort at 000

[Hill Villages]

x 178 terracing, attempted no planting of fruit trees or of vines, and
233 in general refused to borrow any of the traditional and very effective methods of Greek Mediterranean agriculture, even
● 241 though there are villages on the other side of Mount Pelion,
433 within less than two hours' walking distance, where these methods have been in use for centuries on land intrinsically no better than that of the Cherasia hillsides. (There is one important difference, however: because Cherasia's land faces north, toward the open Thessalian plain, cold winter winds blow across it and make olive cultivation impossible. But olive cultivation is and has always been the backbone of Mediterranean hillside agriculture. This undoubtedly is the reason why settlers from over the mountain never tried to exploit Cherasia's hillsides, leaving them to shepherds for winter pasture.)

x 178 The upshot of the history and traditions of Cherasia was that
565 even before World War II, a thoroughly revolutionary mood
578 prevailed in the village. The poor – which is to say nearly
669 everybody in the village except the three families – felt the need to find a scapegoat for what was happening to them. They
579 despised but also envied the three "rich" families, and felt that it would no more than serve them right to be plundered of all they had gained. The villagers also held the government and all other persons in authority vaguely responsible for the straits in which they found themselves. They could not help casting greedy eyes upon rich villages like Lofiscos, which lies within sight of Cherasia, a scant twenty miles across the flat Thessalian plain. But unlike most Greek villagers, they did not really want agricultural land; plunder was more in line with the tradition of the community.

726 The Communist-led guerrilla movement of World War II
669 therefore found unusually ready and unanimous support in Cherasia. No one was willing to tell me how many men from

Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

thus prevent, or at least make more difficult, any future guerrilla action based upon the upper village. 727 653

The result of these expenditures is clearly visible today. The village looks handsomer than ever before; the sound of flowing water resounds refreshingly beside the neatly paved square in the center of the village, and the bright new tile roofs of the village shine in the sun. Only the houses of Nea Eleftherohori rival the impressive outward appearance of Cherasia, and the public structures of Nea Eleftherohori are far inferior to the new ones of the Thessalian village.

Nor have governmental efforts ended there. An agricultural extension agent visits Cherasia once or twice a month – a far more frequent visitation than I found in any other village. He attempted to establish viticulture and fruit trees in the village; but the vines perished, and the fruit trees are still spindly saplings, not yet bearing anything. Finally, additional water works are in process of construction, on the strength of a loan from the Ministry of Interior, issued free of interest and repayable in installments, starting only after five years. When this is finished, there will be enough water to irrigate 50 stremmata (12½ acres) of bottom land, and thus open up a new range of agricultural possibilities for the village. 242 654 241 653 241 652

Certainly, no one can say that either money or skill has been stinted in trying to make the life of Cherasia tolerable for its inhabitants. Yet it was perfectly apparent in 1956 that the effort had been totally inadequate. The people of the village were sullen and suspicious, and felt no gratitude toward the government authorities who had done so much for them. The spirit of the village seemed almost the same as in 1947, with the difference that now the rightists were again on top, and the majority saw little hope for gaining even the nighttime control their party had enjoyed in 1947. In talking with one or two of the villagers I gained the impression that they perversely hoped the 178ˣ 829 669 241 433

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

x178 829 669 ●241 various government plans would fail. Indeed, I suspect that the vines which the agricultural extension agent planted so hopefully may have died, not because his plans were faulty, but because the villagers failed to look after them.

433 Aside from the fact that Communist sympathies were deeply implanted in the village even before the war and were strengthened during and after it by the guerrilla movement, one can point to two facts that help to explain the village attitude. First, the persons who stand to benefit principally from agricultural improvements are naturally those who possess good land — the three families that acquired the bottom land in 1905. For the others, on their miserable hillside patches, there is little the agricultural extension agent can do.

x178 829 669 433 313 656 Second, and much more important, is the fact that in 1954 the government cracked down on woodcutting. Roughly half of the mountain slopes, which had been "theirs" for as long as the men of the village could remember, were set aside as a forest preserve where woodcutting was forbidden. The villagers did not stop cutting wood, but they now do it by stealth, mostly at night, and go out in parties, with watchmen posted in appropriate places to warn them when one of the forest guards comes by. Such activity smacks more than a little of warfare against constituted authority; and in proportion as the men of the village make their living in this illegal fashion, they maintain an open hostility against the government. In doing so they remain faithful to the old "freedom" of the village, characteristic of their shepherd forebears and of their guerrilla relatives and contemporaries.

Small wonder, therefore, that the villagers regard the government as hypocritical and inimical — pretending to give them something with one hand (but really giving mainly to the "rich" families) while with the other depriving them of their very livelihood. No theoretical arguments, to the effect that Greece

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

badly needs reforestation, and that in the long run everyone, in- 178x
cluding the people of Cherasia, will benefit from re-establish- 829
ment of real forests on Mount Pelion, carry any weight among 669
the woodcutters who feel that their rights have been ruthlessly
disregarded, and their traditional way of life endangered. They 433
do not care to be farmers, and for all their ragged poverty, de- 313
spise such slavish souls as are content to labor long and hard on 656
the land.

[241]
A deep and painful irony lies in the fact that without the
bureaucratic paternalism of the government most of the people 669
of Cherasia would, in all probability, have died during the guer- 722
rilla war. What happened in Kotta, where the arm of the gov- 657
ernment did not reach, might well have happened also in 178x
Cherasia, if the inhabitants of the village had not been evacuated to Volos in 1947 and fed there — however miserably — for two and a half years by government relief. And if the population of the village had shrunk to one third of what it actually was in 1956, then it does not seem improbable that much of the present bitterness would have dissolved, because then something like the free traditional way of life would have been possible again. Governmental intervention between 1947 and 1950 prevented the operation of the brutal old-fashioned remedy for overpopulation; but governmental intervention since 1950 has not yet sufficed (and seems unlikely to suffice in the future) to provide a tolerable life for the population that has so successfully been preserved from famine, disease and violent death.

The official records of Cherasia were in considerable confu- 217
sion in 1956, and I was not able to secure satisfactory figures on 166
the present and past population of the village. The main reason 727
for this state of affairs is that many families are registered as inhabitants of Cherasia, but do not reside there. When the villagers were sent back to their homes, everyone was supposed to go, and officially everyone did. Actually, about twenty-five

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1

Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

city, was almost idle, so that serious unemployment was endemic in Volos, thus effectively blocking the easiest and most immediate escape for the hillsmen of Cherasia. In the Thessalian plain, villages like Lofiscos have not developed their agriculture to a level of intensity that would offer seasonal employment on a significant scale. Hence, for the time being the people of Cherasia are caught in a net scarcely of their own devising. At the same time they are stubbornly and angrily doing little or nothing to help themselves. It is not a hopeful situation, and if the general political climate of Greece should change, another guerrilla band could very likely be recruited from Cherasia without difficulty and at a moment's notice. 166 621 433 464 [669]

KARDAMILI

Kardamili lies on the sea, and can thus be described as a hill village only by looking inland, where high and barren hillsides rise abruptly from the coast, with only a small stream and a miniature delta to explain the location of the community. It is situated on the west coast of the central peninsula of the southern Peloponnese. Just to the south lies the wild and desolate country of Mani, a region where tribal organization and blood feud lasted into the twentieth century. 621 [361] [133]

Kardamili raises a little wheat in the stream delta, but its major crop is olives. The rocky hillsides are covered with trees, skillfully planted in crevices and pockets of soil, many of which have been created artificially by terracing. The villagers reckon that they produce enough wheat to supply the community for about four months in the year; the rest has to be imported with money gained through the sale of olive oil. 621 433 [241] ● [438]

Before the war, Kardamili added to its strictly agricultural resources by acting as a commercial center for a number of inland villages. They, too, exported olive oil, together with a few [366 438 491]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

They came back to a village whose earlier means of liveli- 621
hood was being undermined by new roads. As this fact became 166
clear, emigration from the village commenced. Altogether, 464
something like two hundred persons left the village between 433
1950 and 1956. Only one family went overseas, to Australia. The
rest went either to Kalamata or to Athens. Among those who [161]
have remained in the village, a considerable number have un- [167]
dertaken seasonal migration to the Messenian plain in order to
seek work with which to supplement the meager income from
their olive trees in the village. The biggest single source of em- [243]
ployment which has opened up in recent years is work in rice
fields, developed in former salt marshes on the very edge of the [311]
Messenian plain. For the villagers of Kardamili these fields in
Messenia have meant work and wages. Between eighty and
ninety persons, both men and women, leave the village each
year to help cultivate the rice fields. While working, they live [342]
in shanties or even out of doors, and return to their homes in
Kardamili when work stops, or when something needs to be
done on their own land.

Within the village there are variations in wealth, but no fam- 621
ily has so much land as to need to hire labor. Indeed, the village 241
secretary told me that the richest man in the village has only
forty days' work a year on his olive trees, while nearly one third 429
of all the village families own no land at all. [556]

The only change that has come to the traditional agriculture 178×
of the community is the introduction of fertilizer, but few fam-
ilies use it. A common opinion holds that fertilizer is bad for the 245
olive trees, and makes them short-lived by forcing an unnatural [241]
proliferation of fruit. A more sophisticated farmer told me that
while the size of the fruit is increased by fertilizer, the quantity
of oil is not increased in anything like the same proportion and
its quality is lowered. Since the olive trees of this part of Greece
are famous for the high quality of the oil they produce, which [438]

/5 cont./
The nearest railroad station is 3 kilometers from the village. 496
The area is rather flat, sloping gradually as we progress towards 133
the North East. The whole valley where the village lies is surrounded 134
by small rolling hills that form numerous deep gulleys.
Due to the lack of vegetation on those hills erosion has been going [137]
on for years and very often the fields are flooded down into
the valley. The unceasing wars in this area, starting with the
Balkan wars and ending with the First World /6/ War, stripped the
hills of all trees and shrubs that could protect the soil and prevent
the floods. One finds numerous dry fountain springs at the foot [312]
of the hills which were built by the people who passed on long ago.
With the disappearance of the vegetation on the hills the water
disappeared too. There is a small brook that runs North East of
the village which quenches the thirst of the village cattle and the
numerous flocks of sheep, and serves as a bathing place for the
water buffaloes.

The flat land forms an alluvial valley, which has been formed
from the deposition of soil by the continuous erosion of the nearby
hills. The average elevation from the sea level is 90 meters.
In general the soils of the area are 40% sandy clay red soils and
60% clay pyritic. These soils are made up from the surrounding 134
rock formations. In general the depth of the cultivated soil is
not more than 25 centimeters and very compact. The sub-soil
is sandy clay and does not conserve the moisture. The fertility
of these soils is depleted due to continuous farming for many
centuries of the organic material and nitrogen.

The climate is very dry and hot in the summer months with 132
plenty of rain during the winter months and occasionally snow.
The seasons of the year follow each other /7/ abruptly and not
uniformly. This of course has harmful effects on the growth and [241] ●
germination of the plants and hinders the diversification of farming.

The railroad station close to the village enables the village 438
to get to the big trading city of Salonica. This good location 443
[496]

/7 cont./
makes it easy for the farmers to sell their agricultural products at 438
fairly good prices. The road built during the first war by the Allied 443
armies is still in use and provides good transportation facilities. [491]
The same roads may be in use today by the same soldiers. The nearest market is eight kilometers from which most of the goods are bought. Once a week there is a bazaar in this market and on Tuesday of every week another bazaar is held in the nearby village of Herson.

The old Turkish village was very different than what we find 361
it today. It had an old mosque, a pond in the center of the village, 563
no running water but only wells, small two room sun-dried mud brick houses, with high walls around their yards, so as to protect their women from outside looks. The surrounding area of the village, which was used for cemeteries, was covered with huge pointed blocks of stones. This is because the Turks never buried their dead in the same tomb. They believed that the dead were living in an underground world by themselves and the /8/ heavier and the larger the stone the less chance the dead had to get up. From the number of such stones one could easily tell the number
of years the Turks had occupied the village. The new settled 241 •
refugees have used these stones for the foundations of their new 423
houses and the ground was plowed for cereal raising. This spot being the richest of all the land of the surrounding territory, a very small portion was given to each refugee farmer. Here the fields are 1/8 of an acre. The only cereal that can stand this rich soil without being lodged is barley, which is pastured from December to March and still gives more yield than any other field of the same size. Nothing is lost in the world. Cemeteries are the best sources of nitrogen and phosphorus.

When the Turks were living in this village they were fewer in 233
proportion to the land and so they could raise more livestock since they had more pasture land. With the increased number of refugees the livestock pasturing was more difficult.

/13 cont./ 175
the minaret was replaced by the church steeple but the storks kept 621
the same nests for many generations. No one knows so well the history of the village as the storks do. Language and religious differences have done more harm to humanity than any good. Human beings of the same Creator because of language and religious differences kill each other and take turns in occupying the village.

PART II. The Family. The focus of Megali Vrisi Life.

121
A functional study of the family offers the best method of understanding the complex behavior patterns operative in this institution. Moreover it is by such /14/ analysis that the significance of the family group in a culture may be determined.

The Economic Function.

The economic function of the families in Megali Vrisi com- 241 ●
munity is very important and needs some consideration. Farming 594
is the only means of livelihood and consumes a large part of the
time of men, women and children. The general procedure for
gaining a livelihood has been fixed throughout centuries. Due to
climatic conditions the type of crops that can be raised is limited
and even some of these are prohibitive. A crop that in the past 249
brought them the largest income was opium poppies, a narcotic
plant, but the League of Nations has prohibited the sale of this
product. Another product that has many times left the farmer to
speculate about future prospects in price was tobacco. This crop
unlike many other crops that have followed the evolutionary type
of adjustment, has tended to follow independently its sharp ups
and downs. Tobacco, unlike other crops, involves a great amount [435]
of skilled labor and it is a product that is handled by a few manu- [464]
facturing companies that tend to set the price as they please.
Both of the above crops are prohibited. The government-subsidized 243
/15/ wheat has replaced everything. Regardless of the effect of 654
this policy on the land, rotation principles and social effects on the

/16 cont./ 562
The young lady at home virtually becomes a slave. She has 596
to prepare warm water and wash the feet of her father and mother- [462]
in-law, do the washing, cooking, sewing, cleaning and work at [515]
the loom to prepare cloth for the family. The son has no right to
object to the demands of his parents, for the services they expect
/17/ from his wife. This custom throughout many centuries has
become a part of their philosophy of life and naturally is a part
of the good qualities of women.

The work of the women is not seasonal as the men's is. The 461
rush of the summer season decreases in the winter months but the 462
women have to weave, knit, sew, cook, wash the family's clothes
and attend the chores. The men during the winter months come
together in coffee houses and spend their day in sipping coffee,
reading the newspaper and discussing politics.

Work of Husbands.

Unlike many agricultural counties where the work of the [241] ●
husband is more or less distributed more evenly throughout the
year, here we have one crop farming that occupies the men for a [275]
few months and the rest of the year is spent in the coffee house,
which serve as centers of discussion and relaxation. The effect of
the coffee houses is great on the individuals.

On bazaar days the husband goes to the market where he spends [443]
his time either buying articles of food for his family or to meet
his friends and study the market prices of certain commodities.

The long day. During sowing season and harvesting season, 241
which lasts four months of the year, the family /18/ spends long 461
daily hours in the fields. The long hours of work during the rush
season obliges the farmer to take his whole family to the fields and [594]
enough food to spend the week there. Due to the systems of
dividing the land, a farmer besides having six patches scattered [423]
on all sides of the village, has to walk 6 miles from the village [484]
to get to his fields. Thus the distance and the rush of the work
obliges the farmer to sleep in the fields. The usual diet on such [262]
long days of hard work is white cheese, black bread, yugourt,

/18 cont./ 241 ●
ripe olives, salty fish and plenty of wine or whisky. It has been 461
an accepted principle among the farmers to buy plenty of tonic, 262
that is whisky, during rush work seasons. Lack of proper food and [273]
care makes the children an easy prey for diseases.

Trading. The centuries-old method to use money as seldom 437
as possible and to exchange goods still holds true, and it is one
of the most satisfactory ways of trade under such conditions. There
are several ways through which trading is done. Two bazaar days [443]
or market days are held very close to the village. One is 4 miles
and the other is 5 miles. The largest is in the city of Kilkis which
draws farmers from 160 villages. All the roads leading to Kilkis [438]
are jammed with every kind /19/ of travelling beast and every
kind of farm products. Most people walk loaded either with live
poultry, eggs, skins, butter, cheese, vegetables, wheat, etc.
Very seldom one finds any person with money unless he decides
to buy an animal. All these goods are exchanged in the city
market either between farmers or farmers and urban people or
merchants. The merchant weighs the butter and at once calculates
how many pounds of sugar it can buy or live oil, or fish, or
spaghetti, etc. If the farmer thinks it was a good offer the transaction is made at once, but if the farmer thinks it was too little
he starts bargaining and the discussion back and forth may result
in a fight or break off relations. Everything in the market is sold
through bargaining. Those that do not know how to bargain usually [463]
hire expert bargainers. The most interesting part of the bazaar
is the animal section. Here the buyers or the expert bargainers
are called "jampaz" (tricky man). They are expert in buying
and selling animals, and they are highly paid for their services.
These people are well trained in animal judging and experts in
telling the age of the animals. They are dressed up more uniformly and their pocket books are swollen up with money.

In the afternoon the tide of the farmers is toward /20/ their 443
villages. The farmers go to and from the bazaar loaded. Usually 492
they carry the load on their shoulders or use an animal. In 482
000

/21 cont./ The

one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social 443
difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb 437
a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they 433
get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the 834
village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together [872]
but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing together. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance [602]
with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married
at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period 582
from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is 883
busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. 583
One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade 286
stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it 294
happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married [581]
life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a 842
child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do [521]
the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There
is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both
husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is,
"God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men [867]
and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers
and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care
of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions
that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of preventing birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus
out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to [165]
the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. 596
One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest
among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound [178]
families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken
down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today
one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3
members in the family. The compound family makes farming [241]

/23 cont./
more economical. It distributes the work among all members of the family. The cost of living is low and the depreciation on machinery and working animal is low. The difficulties that usually arise here are as follows: 596 [241]

1. One leader in the family who has the right to command all.

2. Mother-in-law has the complete house work organization. She tells the rest what each has to do. In case she has a special inclination to favor one, the rest have to bear the burden of the work without objection. This usually creates hard feelings and starts the division of the family.

3. Usually the older son has more children than the younger son, and in case one of the sons does not have any, he has to work just as hard for the support of his /24/ brother's children. Things of this sort usually create hard feelings and lead to the disorganization of the family.

4. Often the father of the family, taking advantage of the good cooperation of his sons, spends money for his own good time, like drinking, dressing better and traveling. With the increase of modern facilities and modern customs the compound family is disappearing. [178]

Marriage and Courtship.

It was the custom for many years for the parents to hunt and find a suitable wife for their son. Usually the girl had to satisfy the parents' desires. The son had to consent whether he wanted her or not. That was the accepted custom. This is still true with only 40% of the marriages and is rapidly disappearing. The young men are looking ahead of the time for their future partner. In dancing squares, during holiday celebrations and at wedding ceremonies they have a chance to express to each other their admiration and their preference. Nothing is done publicly so as to avoid gossip since the old customs still prevail. The young men very often form a group and sing by the window of their girl friend. If the father suspects anything the punishment is heavy. 584 178 [626] [832]

/24 cont./
Harvest time is the best season for the lovers to express their 584
love to each other. It is the time for the seasonal rush work at 178
which people help each other. Groups of /25/ people work to- [241]
gether and when returning home late in the evening both boys [476]
and girls sing songs that they compose in which they express [533]
their interest to each other. When parents do not agree on the [832]
proposal of the son for a certain girl, the only way to get away [583]
with it is to decide to run away with the girl.
The breaking of these holy traditions the older men of the [369]
village think is due to the railroad station which is so close to
the village and the influence of city life. Another important 178
factor that has poisoned the life of their village was the labor 464
that started coming to the village for work. During the tobacco
and opium crop years when labor was needed, the village at some [249]
seasons doubled its population with the addition of foreign labor.
These people brought in short dresses, hats, silk stockings, high [291]
heel shoes and European dancing. With the passing away of [535]
these crops due to depression years the labor left the village but
their influence stayed behind especially among the young. The [623]
priest, the teacher, and the "Gerousia" of the village tried hard
to drive them away but all in vain.
The younger generation found a better way to give a solution 178
to their heart's desire when their parents /26/ objected. Young 583
men will help each other in running away with their girls. A
group of them will guard the road from which the girl will pass
either with knives or guns. As soon as she appears they stop her
and put her on the horse with her sweetheart. While the couple
goes to the designated village the rest of the group give a fight
to the opposing party. The young couple appear before a priest
in the other village and perform the religious ceremonies. Then
their return to the village is settled by the friends of the couple.
Cases of this kind are increasing in Megali Vrisi. Centuries-old
traditions that have enslaved the free expression of men are being
torn down and the youth find himself in freedom of self expression.

/42 cont./
to fight the disease after it appeared rather than to cure the source 744
of the disease.

The main causes for the death of children were the irregular 164
feeding, intestinal diseases, malaria, lack of nutritive food and 165
long hours of work of the parents that caused them to neglect their
children.

Due to the cost of medicine the people called the doctor 758
only when it is too late for him to do anything. "It was the will [777]
of God to give and take." This is the usual answer that one would
hear. The cost of medical bills range from $12 to $35, even though [511]
the local doctor is free of charge.

/43/ The care of the aged rests solely on their sons. Accord- 888
ing to tradition the aged are the head of the family until they die 593
and due care and respect should be paid to them so as to get their
blessings before their death. The aged who are unable to do any
kind of work are cared by their closest relatives. It is a part of
their religious duties to respect and care for the aged.

PART III.

Earning of Living. The farming is a subsistence type of farm- 241 ●
ing. The people barely make their living and on lean years they 511
have to borrow heavily from the Agricultural Bank or from the
local city merchants. The following inventory which was taken
from a representative farmer shows more or less the farm enterprise.

Inventory at the beginning of the year. 511
176 drachmas = $1 1 Oke = 2.82 pounds. [436]
[804]

A. Condition of the family.
Members of the family 4 - 2 females and 2 males.
Members below 14 years of age 1, above sixty none.

[Inventory at the beginning of the year-
/43 cont./ taken from a representative farmer]

B. Livestock:

	Number	Value in drachmas		
Cows	2	5,000		511
Oxen	2	8,000		422
Poultry	30	900		435
Turkeys	3	300		[231]
Hogs	1	250		
Bees	20	4,000		
			18,450	

C. Family food stuffs in storeroom: [251]

	Okes		
Wheat	300	2,100	
Lard	50	3,000	
Honey	10	300	/44/

D. Animal feed in store: [231]

	Okes	Value in Drachmas	
Chick peas	200	800	
Straw	1200	600	
Barley	400	2,000	
			8,800

E. Agricultural implements [241] ● [412]

	Number		
Plow	1	250	
Yoke	1	90	
Harrow	1	600	
Barrels	3	450	
Harrows	2	70	
Shovels	1	30	
Hatchet	1	60	
Axes	1	80	
Wagons	1	3,000	
Sickles	2	50	
			4,680
	Total		31,930

/44 cont./
Inventory at the end of the year. December 31st 1934.

511
422
435

Family, the same members as at the beginning.

[231]

A. Livestock:	Number	Value in Drachmas	
Cows	3	6,000	
Oxen	2	8,000	
Hens	20	600	
Turkeys	3	300	
Pigs	1	600	
Bees	20	4,000	
			19,500

[251]

B. Family food in store:	Okes		
Wheat	350	2,450	
Lard	40	2,400	
Honey	15	450	
Onions	20	60	
Beans	15	150	
Cracked wheat	40	400	
cereal			5,910

[231]

C. Animal feed in store:			
Straw	1,600	800	
Corn	60	300	
Chickpea	200	800	
			1,900

/45/

[241]
[412]

D. Agricultural implements:	Okes	Value in Drachmas
Plow	1	250
Yoke	1	90
Harrow	1	550
Barrels	3	450
Harrows	2	60
Shovel	1	30
Hatchets	1	60

511
241 ●

/45 cont./

Sickle	2	40	
Axes	1	70	
Wagons	1	2,500	
			4,200
		Grand total	31,510

[422]
[435]
[412]

A one crop farm does not offer regular income year after year. Due to diversity of climatic conditions there are on the average 3 good years to one poor year. Because of the recent settlement of the farmers their needs are great not only for their families but also for their farms, such as tools, animals, stables, barns, better houses and payment of their loans. The poor years increase the debts of the farmer tremendously and if unable to pay them he tries to find a refuge by telling lies. [426] [577]

241
423
[484]

The Pattern of Land use. One of the greatest troubles that the farmer of Megali Vrisi has is in getting to and from his fields. His share of land which is composed of 45 stremas (10 1/2 acres), is divided into 7 fields. The smallest piece is 1/4 of an acre and the largest 2 acres. The government in its endeavor to give equal chance to all farmers has divided the land into /46/ 7 categories according to fertility and the distance from the village. Thus the nearest field is 1/5 of a mile and the farthest one is 4 1/2 miles. This type of division, besides consuming time to and from the fields and tiring the animals with unnecessary walking, also reduces the productiveness through poor management of the fields. [433] Rotation is neglected since the farmers having their fields in certain section have to agree on crop plantation with their neighbors. [242] [476] The fencing of the individual fields is impossible and anyone can pasture any field after the crops are removed. There is a law that gives the right of pasturing the fields by anyone after the crops are removed. [233]

We can summarize the good and bad points for such a distribution of land.

Advantages:

1. Gives equal opportunity to each farmer to have equal share of fertile as well as of infertile land.

/46 cont./

2. Have land close to the village which can be used for vegetable crops. 241 423

3. If the crop of one section fails, due to hail or flood, still his other fields are saved.

Disadvantages:

1. Waste of time on the road.

2. Hard to work without causing trouble /47/ to the neighbors.

3. Proper rotation can not be carried on.

4. Inefficient use of man and animal labor.

5. Trouble between neighbors either for stepping or stealing from each others fields.

6. Much land is lost for the roads and division lines.

The worst of all the disadvantages are the conflicts that are created among good neighbors because of stepping in each others fields or plowing a furrow on the dividing lines. The priest of the village, who is keen minded, found out that more cases are reported to courts due to field line differences. People who work close together often do not speak to each other because of such troubles. [578 685]

The land is suitable for tobacco and opium poppies. These two crops have played a large part during years of prosperity in establishing class distinctions and in teaching the people to be more extravagant. 241 249 511 433

Due to surplus production of tobacco crop in the country this area was not allowed to plant either tobacco or poppies, but only to raise cereals. The income from cereals was not as high and forced the farmers to tighten their economy. The luxuries one by one /48/ started disappearing from the village. The debts that were created during prosperous years based on the yearly incomes were hard to pay back. [656] [426]

At present the organized production of cereals and especially of wheat occupies the largest part of the acreage. 243

Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following implements. 000

Farm Implements. The average farmer 241
/48 cont./ has the following implements. 422
407
[412]
[435]

1	Harrow	$3
1	Plow, iron	1.50
1	Wooden plow	1.00
1	Yoke	1.00
3	Hoes	0.35
2	Shovels	0.25
2	Sickles	0.35

The above are the implements which the farmer uses in his farming. Borrowing of tools and implements is extensively practiced [474] by the farmers. Some of the implements and machinery that are too expensive to be owned by one farmer are owned cooperatively such as seed cleaning machine, harrow and harvesting machines. This cooperative movement is very successful and solves some of their pressing economic problems. [326] Some of the implements are made locally and all repairs are done by the local blacksmith. [445]

/49/ Domestic Animals. The livestock problem is one which 233 is still in its infancy. All the sheep are owned by the Thracians and they are increasing them every year. The sheep is the competitor of the cow. A farmer can live without sheep but cannot do [492] without cows, since the only source of power is the cow. The feeling between the sheep owners and the rest of the farmers is not [578] very good, and may develop into a very critical conflict if steps are not taken ahead of time to prevent it. Since pasturing the [423] fields and community pasture is free to any one, the sheep take advantage of this law and get the greatest benefit in competition with the cows.

The local cows are a mixture of the scrubby Macedonian breed and so far no attempt was made to improve the livestock.

One solution discussed for solving some of the pressing problems of livestock is by taxation as follows:

1. No tax should be paid by the sheep up to 12 head.
2. 12 to 25 heads 15 cents per head.
3. 25 to 40 " 30 " " "
4. 40 to 80 " 75 " " "

/49 cont./

This will give a chance for every farmer to have few and those who have too many will be obliged to reduce them due to taxes. 233

5. Every farmer who owns a pair of oxen and two /50/ cows will not pay any tax on them.

6. Those who have 5 heads of cattle will pay 40 cents per head; 5 to 7 $1.00 per head; 10 to 15, $5 per head. Also the scale of taxing should be based not only on the number of head but on the productive capacity of each cow. The better producer will pay less tax and poorest kind of cow will pay the highest.

The above is not only a measure to prevent increase in the number of cows, but also for their improvement so that the pasture can be of the utmost use for greater returns.

The pasture is common and all the animals of the village can be pastured together. Another old law which still exists for the benefit of those who have sheep, is the right of pasturing the fields after crops are removed. The owner of the field has no right to prevent others from pasturing his field after he removes his crop. The only value it has is this that everyone tries to keep livestock so as to get full advantage of his pasture rights. 233 423

The pastures are pastured the year round and year after year they are depleted from some of the best pasture plants. The only grass that occupies a large part of the best pasture is the quack grass, the thistles and wild rasberry plants. Recently the interest of a few leading farmers was directed towards improving the pasture. Some experiments with rotation, the animals /51/ at different seasons on different sections of the pasture gave best results. Harrowing early in the spring, application of fertilizers and complete rest for 3 years were methods advised. 233 246 [137] [242]

The largest part of their farming capital is composed of animals whose feeding largely depends on the pasture. If the farmers continue depleting their pasture from the continuous pasturing the time will come when a future generation will be unable to keep animals. [241] [511] [471]

/51 cont./

Receipts Expenditures and Balances. The following account is more or less representative of the receipts expenditures and balances of the farmer.

241 ●
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435

General farm accounts of income and expenses.

A. Income	Amount, Okes	Value in Drachmas
Wheat	840	5,040
Wheat seed	400	3,200
Wheat sold	2,560	17,920
Turkeys	36	3,600
Veg. & legumes		560
Watermelons sold		1,760
Milk (consumed at home)	300	2,100
Poultry (consumed at home)	8	320
Poultry sold	20	400
Cereal consumed	30	360
Eggs	200	200
Eggs sold	700	700
Lard consumed	40	1,600
Wool used	20	600
Wool sold	50	1,500
Corn consumed	100	400
Chick peas used	200	800
Straw used	3,000	1,500
Barley	200	800
Butter from cows sold		800
Heifers sold	1	1,200
	Total	46,160

241
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435

B. Expenses:	Amount in Okes	Value in Drachmas
Bread for the family (produced)	840	5,040
Wheat seed (produced)	400	3,200
Legumes "	60	180
Vegetables "		
Spinach	20	40
Onions	40	80
Beans	2	20
Potatoes	60	240
Vegetables bought		2,540
Milk (produced)	300	2,100
Poultry (produced)	8	320
Cereal "	30	360
Eggs "	200	200
Lard "	40	400
Honey "	20	600
Olives, macaroni sugar salt purchased		2,037
Clothing for family		6,227
General expenses, newspapers, travel, books		1,761
Doctor bills		530
Furniture and repairs		2,500
Animal feed: (produced)		
Corn	100	400
Chick peas	200	800
Straw	3,000	1,500
Barley	200	800
Agricultural implements bought		180
Fruit trees bought		400
Fuel (wood & kerosene)		1,085

/52 cont./ 241

Stable & straw room		511
built	6,000	[435]
Opened a well	3,000	
Deposit in the savings bank	2,000	
Total	46,160 = $262	

From the above accounts we find that the largest single item
of income is from wheat, which comprises over 60% of the whole
income. This shows the importance of the crop not only for market
but for the family consumption. Even in the expense accounts 511
wheat used for /53/ bread is one of the largest items. Next to
wheat come the animal products and the animals. One can easily [262]
see that the basic diet of the farmers is bread. 840 okes, or
2362.80 pounds of wheat makes 3544.20 lbs. of bread for four
persons a year or 886.05 lbs of bread per person per year or 2.5 lbs.
of bread daily per person. This is not the highest, but a little
below the average.

In the expense account we find clothing and building con-
struction the largest expense items. The 6,227 drs. are spent, in
a year, for clothing the family. This is above the average.
Usually the clothing bill runs low, depending on the amount of [286]
cloth mothers can weave. Even though a large part of the cloth is [438]
produced in the village still the yarn has to be bought from the
market.

Next to this the largest cash bill is that of the doctors. This [164]
fluctuates from year to year, depending on the intensity and ex-
tensiveness of malaria and other diseases.

The vegetable crop is another item that needs some explanation. 511
The farmer produced only 15% of his vegetable consumption. 241
Lack of knowledge of vegetable growing forces him to this extra 244
expense. The soil and climate are suitable for him to raise enough 438
varieties /54/ of vegetables the year around. This is proved by 433
the fact that the vegetables he buys are produced locally by
specialized vegetable gardeners.

/54 cont./
According to his expense accounts he produced 85% of food 241 ●
stuffs and almost all of his seed. This shows how self sufficient 511
the farmer of Megali Vrisi is and if he raised his vegetables too,
there would be very few food articles bought from the market.

This representative farmer experiencing the prosperous year of [454]
1934 was able besides spending for construction of a stable and a
well, to deposit in the bank 2,000 drs. so as to have them during
the lean years.

Government Subsidy of Wheat Production

During the twentieth century the governments of various 241
countries have introduced certain methods to regulate production, 461
consumption and export. Some of these principles have had temporary successes and some others have failed. These governmental
controls have in many instances created social changes and economic
difficulties. The adoption of one crop enterprise and the creation
of leisure seasons due to prohibition of certain other crops have
made it difficult for the farmers to fit themselves in the new scheme
of life. By subsidizing the wheat crop and fixing its market price [654
the government has persuaded the farmers to plant only /55/ wheat 435]
and neglect rotation and other crops.

Wheat being a seasonal crop provides ample leisure time for
the farmer and thus ample spending periods. He is unable to find
anything to occupy his time for something productive and useful
in his occupation. Thus many people during the winter months [464
leave the village for outside work. The girls in most cases find
work in tobacco districts and the men in road construction. The 499
conditions under which the girls and the men work are very poor 466]
and unhealthy, many returning home with poor health. It is a big
problem with one crop farming to find something to absorb the
leisure time of the farmers.

The few experiments which were conducted in cooperation [246
with the farmers of raising irrigated alfalfa and vetch and the
introduction of dairy farming threw a hopeful light on what could 234]
be done to intensify agriculture so as to absorb all the available labor.

/55 cont./

The low water table of only 18 to 24 feet, the flat land that 241
will make irrigation easy, the nearness to the railroad station and
to a big city, are the outstanding privileges of the farmer of
Megali Vrisi to shift his farming methods and produce enough to
improve his family living conditions. Nothing could meet his
economic needs better than the combination of dairying with
small cereals.

/56/ Cooperative Activities. A village system and the type 621
of farming such as in Megali Vrisi makes cooperative movement 476
essential. The limited capital of the individual farmer makes it
hard to conduct his farming operations successfully. The type of [241]
living together has brought them the spirit of cooperation. Before [474]
any kind of organized cooperative movement started, there was
already very close cooperation among the villagers in hiring a
common shepherd, sharing alike in the erection and care of the
school and church, repairing the roads, helping each other at
harvest and in numerous other ways. The cooperative spirit was [866]
taught to them in the family from the type of family life they were
living. Nothing explains so well their success in being able to
establish themselves in the village, in such a short time as work-
through the cooperative to help each other.

Since the settlement of the village the people organized a 241
cooperative with a capital of $15,000. A threshing machine and 474
a tractor of 64 horsepower was bought. All the farmers thresh
their cereals and pay 11% of the crop. With the accumulated [407]
capital a flour mill with four grinding stones was built. The flour [256]
mill, besides serving the village, draws customers from the neigh-
boring villages. The flour mill charges 3% /57/ of the grain.
The cooperative organized a grocery which serves the members. [444]
It also bought 3 improved pure-bred bulls for the village herd. [232]
The cooperative has its own 15 acres of land where it conducts
experiments for the farmers of the village with fertilizers, seeds
and grass plants. All loans from the Agricultural Bank are made
through the cooperative. All the Caucasians are members, but
only 65% of the Thracians are members. The cooperative is one [621]

/57 cont./
of the outstanding institutions in the village which guides the people 241
in keeping accounts and in taking active part in appointing officers 474
every year. [621]

The yearly meeting of the cooperative lasts 2 days and all the men who served in the army take active part. After the committee presents its accounts and accomplishments and its future program, a discussion starts from different members either praising or criticising the work of the existing committee. Different proposals for improvement are made and finally it ends with a vote for a new committee of six. During these two days of discussion people learn from each other how to judge and evaluate certain deeds of the cooperative.

The government, understanding the importance of the cooperative has organized the Ministry of Cooperatives /58/ under [647]
the auspices of the Agricultural Bank. The effect of the cooperative on the people is great not only on the economic life but also on their social life as well. It draws the people close together and they think not in terms of their immediate needs but of their future welfare.

Every year the cooperative sends two students to the high [741]
school, gives prizes to the farmers that raise good seed and better animals, gives financial aid to the poor, and helps the unfortunate sick to go to hospitals. These are signs of the role the cooperative can play in the near future.

Besides unifying the whole village into an economic unit it [621]
also is becoming a center of spreading higher ideals among the people. Its powers at the present are restricted due to the lack of experienced men with foresight. There are possibilities for one to do more in devising community programs by working with the cooperative.

Farm Techniques. The biblical type of farming is still the 241
kind that yields the greater returns with the least cost. The animal [492]
power is composed of oxen with a yoke and an iron plow. The [407]
wooden plow still has its /59/ blessings for certain soils. In soil

/59 cont./ 241
that are shallow, that is where the top soil is 5 to 7 inches, the [407]
iron plow cannot work so successfully as the wooden plow. It goes
too deep and brings up the raw infertile soil which destroys the
field for many years. The wooden plow does not turn the furrow
over but leaves it in the place, thus the field is plowed without
bringing to the surface the subsoil. The farmers think the iron 241
plow poisons the soils of this kind and never use an iron plow on 242
such soils but only a wooden one. The fields for wheat seed are
plowed from 3 to 7 times before seeding. It has been a custom to
plow the same field as many times as possible. The common
expression is: "The more you work the soil the more you get."
This is of course a general principle and does not hold true under
all conditions.

Manure is seldom applied since almost all of it is used as fuel. 241
Each farmer on the average has 4 animals and they are in pasture 237
all day the year around. What little manure he gets he uses for 372
fuel.

Chemical fertilizers are too expensive and the farmer is not
acquainted with them. He still talks about them as "fine soil
filled in sack and colored with lime."

They understand well the importance of manure but /60/ cannot
afford to use it for their fields. One of the outstanding problems
which is that of a fuel to substitute for dried manure should
be attacked first before trying to do anything with farming. The [433]
productivity of the land is decreasing year after year. The humus,
what little there is, is depleted and the fields need it in order
to continue cultivating them. In one survey, I found out that
92% of the manure is used as fuel and only 8% is applied to the
fields. This study also revealed that by applying the manure to [433]
the field the increased production buys 2 1/2 times as much fuel
of lignite coal. After proving to them the importance of the [354]
manure they were convinced of the profit in buying lignite coal,
but a special stove so constructed as to fulfil the needs of a farm
family was not discovered.

/60 cont./ 241
Rotation of crops is neglected due to the high price of wheat. 242
The best land is put into wheat and the poor land into oats and
barley. The recent introduction of vetch may revolutionize the
rotation system and may help answer the livestock management
problems.

The Local Groceries. Out of five groceries two have closed 444
due to depression years of 1930-33. The three groceries are doing 452
well only on books. Their /61/ non-collected capital exceeds
3 times their active capital. The cooperative grocery gives keen [458]
competition but its credit is limited to members and it has a [474]
successful way of collecting the debts at threshing time with the
cooperatives' threshing machine. Just before threshing the three [273]
local groceries treat their customers with wine and whisky so as
to be able to collect their debts. All kinds of methods are used
at harvest time.

The local grocery owners do their farming too and in most [241]
cases all their farming jobs are done by the farmers in paying [463]
their debts. No grocery man could make his living out of grocery
business alone, but keeps it for spending his leisure time.

PART IV. HABITS OF CONSUMPTION

Household Expenditures. People who lose all they had two 511
to four times in their lifetime will not want to buy anything
unless its need is essential. Life is more or less simplified and
the household expenditures run very low. In one of the accounts
we find that for household expenditures the farmer spent 2.500
drs. ($16.66). This sum is too high. We must remember that
these farmers were just settled and had nothing whatsoever to
start with.

/62/ A few small chairs, a rough table, a few wooden spoons [352]
and a few copper kitchenware make the kitchen's utensils. [415]
Pictures of a few relatives and their own hang on the wall with a [353]
few handmade embroideries. [531]

/52 cont./ 511
few handmade embroideries. Seldom one finds a bedstead, but 352
boards nailed together serve as a bedstead.

How is the money spent? The men keep the money and the 511
accounts but the women save the money from the eggs and the 594
poultry which they sell. The man never gives an account to the [451]
wife of how he spends his money. She is supposed to work hard
but should not question how and why the money was spent. The
farmer is interested only in his farm enterprise, that is his oxen,
implements, seed and repair of the buildings. The women are
responsible for the rest. Often conflicts take place due to the
stinginess of the husband to spend money for clothing of his wife
and children and for food. It is not unusual to find men spending money for getting drunk or gambling.

Some farmers do spend their money in buying more animals, 511
implements and improving their poorly built houses. A large part 241●
of the money is spent in buildings. The more the farmer becomes [454]
stabilized the more his needs increase.

/53/ Food consumption. The main diet is bread. The people 262
are used to prepare three kinds of cereal from wheat and barley.
Barley is shelled and cracked and used for soup with milk. The
wheat is boiled, dried and then finely cracked and used as cereal.
The wheat flour is baked with sour milk and tomato juice, dried
and when pulverized is used for soup. Macaroni is prepared from [251]
wheat flour, dried in the oven and stored for winter.

Besides the above they have dried beans, chick peas, canned
dry cheese. During Christmas they all kill a pig which they
cook and keep it till late in summer. The lard is used for cooking. Since vegetables are plentiful they supplement the starch
foods. Milk is precious and found only during spring and summer
months when pasture is plenty. Eggs and poultry are luxuries and [438]
are sold on the market. Seldom the family kills a chicken. The
diet centers around wheat products and vegetables. Pickled
cabbage, cucumbers, tomatoes, peppers and bread are the best
combinations for hard work. Olives and olive oil are consumed
daily with bread. The basic fat in cooking is olive oil or linseed
oil.

[Caucasus]

/86 cont./
misfortune, loses his house or livestock, the whole village shares in providing everything. Seldom does one find any one suffering in a Caucasian village. It has been a common expression among other groups to say that the Caucasians as individuals are worthless but as a group none could surpass them. This shows how effective this compound family life influenced the person's whole behavior and attitude. 476 621

Fertilizing the fields was unknown to these people. Even livestock manure was not valued very much and was used as fuel. Their method of improving the fertility of the land was to rest it for several years and the longer the rest the better for the field. For better results it was advisable to let the animals pasture the land. They always thought there was something magic in the hoofs of the animals. This was proven to them by grazing the winter wheat and barley early in the spring. They found better stooling and more yield. Even today they still believe it but cannot afford to try it under the new climatic conditions. (The reason why the hoofs had so much magic is explained as follows. /87/ Due to thawing of the ground the roots of the wheat and barley plants were exposed to the air and pasturing early in the spring was a method of packing the soil instead of using a roller to pack it so as to protect the roots of the plants.) 241 ●

The culture of the Thracian group was just the opposite of that of the Caucasians. Although at the door-step of Asiatic and European civilization, these people have lived far from both. The frequent movement from their village due to continuous wars in that area, and the hardships they suffered has changed the life of each one of them and has made them pessimistic. They look at life and on the world as a whole with indignation and scornful attitude. This continuous movement has forced upon them the belief that everything was in vain and that life had little difference from animal life. The Thracians are strictly individualistic, not interested in community affairs or group life. They look at every one with suspicion, believe no one except themselves. They have no benevolent spirit and the misery of their neighbors make no 621 167 181 [178]

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621
[167]

/87 cont./
impression on them. Even their wives and children are treated like slaves. The suffering of their children or their wives moves them /88/ very little. How much the hard life of wars affected them it is hard to tell.

Here on the one hand we have the unfriendly, resistant, apathetic, inferior Thracian, while on the other hand we have the friendly, frank, responsive, broad-minded and feeling-superior of the Caucasian. The pessimistic, the unconscious, unstable, unmannered, stupid and unreliable Thracian, to live with the optimistic, sensitive, self-assured, stable, mannered, intelligent and reliable Caucasian.

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Here were two groups, one ready to sacrifice time and material to improve the new village, while the other group could do nothing that was beyond the home yard. The Thracians as farmers are hard working and are contented with the old wooden plow, a one-room house, a kettle to cook in and a bowl for the whole family to eat from. Their agriculture was still primitive and fertilizers were unknown. The Thracians, like the Caucasians, believed too much in magic and that the good harvest year was largely in the hands of the divine spirit.

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Living together was hard for both groups under such conditions. The Caucasians, traditionally influenced by their community improvement ambition, started with /89/ enthusiasm to build and improve what they already found. The mutual aid, such as in barn-raising, exchange of labor, lending teams, lending tools, lending money and even food stuffs, caring for the sick and comforting the bereaved is widespread. The rush of harvesting and threshing is done cooperatively. When one once was questioned, "How do you have such a fine mutual assistance", the answer was as follows: "Well, you see one side of the picture only, that is the work part of it. The people who cooperate have the greatest fun in working, eating and drinking together. Some of the love songs find expression at such occasions like harvesting or threshing." The Caucasians were taught in their own world how to get more out of life. They know that happiness was born

[533]

[152]

/93 cont./ 627
Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with
bloodshed.

Social Control. Formal and Informal Aspects of Control. [623]
The "Gerousia" usually exercised a degree of informal control
over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of [692]
what is right or wrong. The government courts had little influence
in this. There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many [685]
families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields;
their implements scattered in the yards and the poultry nests out
in the open.

Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the 626
women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. All the men drink, 273
but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk.
When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they
do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable
life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost
all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find
is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community 543
fairs represent the inception of social organization for the pro- 621
motion of recreation. The purpose of these fairs was competition
in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, which meant 476
so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued 578
these fairs. Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and
athletic events would give it a happy ending.

The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major 461
problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how 517
to use the excess leisure time more profitably. This excess leisure
time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. Due to the nature 241
of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two [578]
months and two months in summer. The rest of the time very
little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from
December to April there is no farm work except the chores which
are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute
problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in

/94 cont./ 461
the evening they sit in the coffee houses, either reading newspapers, 517
chatting politics, playing cards, or playing tavli, (a 241 •
game which is played in the Near East countries). At these slack
seasons visiting /95/ takes place within the village mostly by [574]
women who take their knitting and gossip. The men visit distant [484]
villages where they happen to have relatives. It is surprising to
find how much this distant visiting carries back and forth either [178]
methods of agriculture or exchange of seed or discussion of community
organization plans. Nothing like distant visiting could be
more profitable to the visitor and to the visited relative. It is
costly and seldom done by women.

Bazaars. Twice a week the bazaar or market takes place at 443
the nearby towns of Kilkis and Herson. Every farmer, whether 438
or not he has worked, has to go to bazaar. Those that go for
shopping, take with them either poultry, eggs, cheese, butter, [437]
wheat, oats, barley, chickpeas, a pig, a heifer, a cow, a calf,
or an ox. No villager who goes to bazaar will ever go without
some agricultural product. The price of the above mentioned
commodities depends on the amount brought to the bazaar and [435]
the number of merchants present on that day. Price is set by the
supply and demand of the day. The farmers go to and from
bazaar loaded. Usually they carry the load on their shoulders or [482]
use an animal. In exchange for their agricultural products they
get /96/ kerosene, thread, buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, [492]
dried fish, beans, candy, olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most [437]
farmers hang around the bazaar corners, watch the bargaining
tricks of livestock merchants, visit friends from other villages,
buy and sell oxen, or watch the bazaar price for different commodities.
For many a farmer these bazaars are reliable centers
of information to know how he can advantageously exchange his
goods with the needs of his family. Most farmers seldom use
money for buying goods to meet their family needs. Based on [436]
long experience, the farmer found it safer to keep his goods rather
than money. Money he thinks creates more enemies than anything
else.

594 accepted without complaint when necessary, as a hardship to be borne
156 with fortitude. Sisters like to share a room, and even a bed; mothers like
to work with their daughters, whom they do not consider to be underfoot.
513 It is not contrary to peasant ethics for children of mixed sex to share sleeping quarters. Family matters are discussed by all, and children over 10 often have a voice in important decisions such as the buying or selling of a field.

594 Greeks value freedom and self-dependence, but the unit of self-dependence
593 is not the individual but the family. The family is an
organic whole, a system of delicately balanced roles and interrelationships.
156 Older siblings are responsible for younger siblings, males for females. A Greek never ceases to have a claim on his family; a married son or daughter cannot be poor, starting at the bottom of the financial scale, while the parents thrive financially. A married son asks his father for help in business without losing *philotimo* or becoming dependent in character. A daughter asks for the things she cannot afford to buy. This is not dependence, it is one's rightful place within a structured, balanced whole. There is no virtue in being self-dependent in relation to one's family. But the family must be self-dependent in relation to the world, except in so far as it has a claim on government aid.

593 Equality within the family is a matter of personal essence, not of
594 fairness of apportionment. An uneducated older brother is proud without bitterness of the younger brother whom he helped make a doctor. The family may impoverish itself for the education or dowering of one of the children, and the successful life of these children brings honour to the whole family. It is not uncommon to
589 find that a man has remained unmarried so as to support his widowed
583 sister and her family, or in order to earn a dowry for a large number
167 of sisters. The need for obtaining these dowries was one of the main
incentives for emigration to the United States. The responsibility for
602 younger relatives is also at the base of the apportionment of positions
593 and appointments of people who are not fitted by training or deserving
661 by merit. A man who has been educated by older brothers who
156 have stayed in the village working in the fields and vineyards, and who now holds a high government position, owes it to his family and to his role within it to find positions for his nephews. If he does not, he fails his family, he does not uphold the family *philotimo*, he is not a good Greek.

594 On the other hand, a father does try to see to it that he gives some
241 property to every child, to sons for farming, to daughters for a dowry.
423 This is at the base of much of the agricultural difficulty facing Greece
425 at present, since fields have been divided, often into strips measuring a fraction of an acre, and require consolidation before effective use of mechanized farm implements can be made, as well as for contour farming and efficient fertilization.

really Greek, since they do not conform to the tradition of Greekness. [illegible]

Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, 771
urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without 788
a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, [782]
"making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos*; merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who
journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the [241]
Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints 782
are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. When a loved man, husband, son, brother, father, beloved, goes away with the merchant marine, or in the sponge-fishery, a woman makes a vow to the appropriate saint, to be fulfilled on the safe return. The islands are studded with small chapels [346]
which were promised on such occasions. However, priests are called [793]
in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.

Traditionally, Sunday services are attended regularly by women 796
and children, perhaps less faithfully by the men. Ceremonials, how- [794]
ever, draw the entire family. The ritual is not bolstered by strict limits of time or rules of silence. Mass starts in due course, a little early
or a little late, not on the dot of an appointed time. Children run in [852]
and out between the aisles, and mothers whisper endearments to babies. A woman will break into a dirge during the Good Friday Mass of the Epitaph, mourning the death of Christ, or adressing herself in sympathy to the bereaved Virgin. The Mass before the midnight preceding Easter is tense with expectation; there is great release and spontaneous joy when Christ is announced to be risen, and the "Christ is risen!" with which all are greeted is a true, joyous message, full of the wonder and the reassurance of the renewed miracle; the candles lighted from the sacred light at this time are carried home with true concern for saving the flame from extinction.

Religion is so firmly entrenched and unquestioned that it can be 771
taken with casualness and a lack of self-conscious effort. It is accepted and ever-present like the air. One talks about Masses and preparations for litanies, but not about religion. Religion is not a personal matter,
nor is it a guide to conduct. People consult the priest, but in matters [793]
of human relations, or, at any rate, relations which are regarded as secular, not because they are assailed by doubts. Young men do not talk about the meaning of Christ in their lives, nor do young girls
dream of entering a convent. On the other hand, the Saints and the [95]
Virgin often figure in speech: a man singing of his beloved likens her neck to an altar, her arms to church tapers, or he tells her that he worships her like the Virgin.

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/104/

The Macedonians

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000 1. Konak in Alaklissa. 2. Shepherd's hut of loam and straw in the Campania, the lowlands north of Salonika. 3. Fortress-like warehouse in Palalitza. 4. Peasant woman at a weaving loom in Skoplje. 5. Farmyard near Skoplje. 6. Bagpipes. 7. Baking bell. 8. Magical charm. 9. and 10. Votive offerings. 11. Cotton cleaner (hatter's bow). 12. Riding donkey. 13. Pottery oven near Skoplje. 14. Armchair. 15. Plowing farmer. 16. Brand iron used for branding sheep. 17. Incense pot. 18. Earthenware cover for the coal basin, used for keeping the heat in; on top of it is placed the pot or coffee jug.[1]

(Numbers 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 are in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Hamburg. Numbers 13, 16, and 17 in the Ethnographisches Museum at Dresden. Numbers 4, 5, 12, 13, and 16 are photographs taken by Generaloberarzt /Chief surgeon-general/ Dr. Hansen in Lübeck.

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144 In the lowlands between Albania, old Bulgaria, and Greece, that is, in Macedonia, and incessant movement of peaceable and war-like peoples has produced the racial mixture of present-day Macedonia, in which the Indo-Germanic Thracians constitute the basic stock. To this were added, in antiquity, Romans, in the middle ages Slavs and Bulgarians, Turks and their Turkomanic or Near Eastern camp-followers; and, finally, Rumanians, Greeks, and the tribally
231 related Albanians. The level tracts of land along the coast and the swampy lowlands are maintained by a nomadic type of livestockbreeding;
● 241 the fertile fringe areas provide ample yields from the grain agriculture which cultivates primarily wheat and maize, but they are also receptive
342 to southerly cultures such as rice, opium, and cotton. The herders build for themselves hasty round huts of loam and straw; the field guards who here, as in all the other parts of the Balkans, watch over the cultivated fields all through the summer, construct frame-works shaped like beehives or pointed cones out of intertwined twigs and thick bundles of straw. Simple farmsteads also have a thatched roof on walls of tiles and loam; a combination of wood, loam, and tiles leads to two-storied panel-work structures (Figure 2) which contain, in the ground floor,

[1] [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 73a--Analyst]